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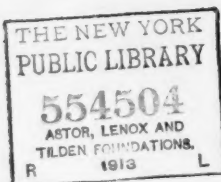
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6. *The Constitutional History of England in its Origin and Development*. By W. Stubbs. Three vols. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1880.
7. *The History of English Law before the time of Edward I*. By Sir F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland. Two vols. Cambridge : University Press, 1895.
8. *Das Recht der Minoritäten*. Von Georg Jellinek. Vienna : Hölder, 1898.
9. *The Procedure of the House of Commons*. By Josef Redlich. Translated by A. E. Steinthal, with an Introduction by Sir Courtenay Ilbert. Three vols. London : Constable, 1908.

‘THE completeness,’ says Redlich (ii, 261), ‘with which the majority principle has been for centuries accepted is no greater than the obscurity of the origin of this basis of modern representative government, adopted, along with constitutionalism itself, in Europe, America, and Australia, as the foundation of all parliamentary systems.’ The question of the origin of the principle of majority

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rule has indeed been little considered. So voluminous and detailed a writer as Bentham dismisses it with the remark that, if the opinion of the majority is unlike that of the whole body, the opinion of the minority is still more so; which is like saying that the average income of Brown and Smith is over 5000*l.* a year, when Brown has 10,000*l.* and Smith 50*l.*

And yet it is a very obvious question. It is easy enough to admit that, when lack of time compels a tourist party, all of whom would like to visit both Athens and Naples, to make a choice between those cities, the choice might fairly be determined by the fact that, while nineteen are for the one town, only eighteen are for the other. But that, when nineteen people want to commit the whole party to a course to which eighteen are violently opposed, they should have it all their own way, is so clearly farcical that the majority principle is seen to have its limitations. Except within narrow limits, it corresponds with nothing in nature. Nature—physical nature—gives to opposing forces the accurate effect of their resultant. It is the depth of political imbecility to ascribe an omnipotence to the odd man which does not belong to the odd ounce. Yet the maxim of deferring to majorities, true and useful within narrow limits, is carelessly accepted as the last word of obvious political wisdom. This has a purely historical explanation. Let it be premised that it is the origin of majority rule that we are investigating. The origin of majority decisions is another matter, and must be concealed in the mists of dawning history. It is the acceptance of majority decisions as universally valid in matters of government that we propose now to consider.

We shall see that in early England there existed no notion that a mere majority could control a considerable minority. The equation of the will of the majority to the will of the whole was simply unknown. The voice which could speak in the name of an assembly was that voice which could fairly be taken as representative of the whole. If the individual units of the assembly were equal in consideration, this was the concurrent voice of the great bulk of them. If they were not equal, it might be the voice of one or more selected persons. Thus the abbot spoke in the name of the abbey; the dean spoke

for the chapter; and the archbishop came near to speaking in the name of the province of Canterbury. It may even be said that the abbot, dean, or archbishop, in such cases, *was* the 'majority'—the *major pars* of the whole, though not the most numerous part.

It is instructive to remark that, where the doctrine of equality has been most completely accepted among English-speaking people, i.e. in the United States of America, the word 'majority' has disappeared and has been replaced by the term 'plurality,' which is clearly indicative of mathematical numeration. In the United States, however, the consequences of maintaining the principle of equality, and at the same time discarding the principle of unanimity, are masked and counter-vailed by the system according to which it is next to impossible for the people as a whole to vote on a single question. The division into forty-seven States, many of which contain a comparatively homogeneous population, is one factor in the system. It is impossible for Massachusetts to vote down South Carolina, because Massachusetts has nothing to do with South Carolina's affairs. A more often recognised countervailing factor is found in the difficulties with which legislation on important subjects is hedged round. It may be true that a universal assembly of the 'plurality' of the residents in any State might, on the principles on which the Constitution is based, be legally entitled to adopt any measure they pleased, within the competence of the State. Needless to say, no such gathering could ever be convoked. And, to effect an alteration in the State constitution, a very formidable procedure has usually to be faced.

Shall we say, then, that the majority do not rule in the United States? Certainly, a bare majority of a few thousands or tens of thousands throughout the Union would find enormous difficulty in carrying any important measure, excepting the election of a president. But if we listen to a Mississippi statesman who was also a political thinker of commanding intellect, we shall find him reproducing in terms the old theory of common consent, and asserting that the majority does rule in the Union, and that it is precisely to secure that the majority shall rule, that plurality legislation is hedged about with such restrictions. We refer to J. C. Calhoun.

Calhoun was born in 1782, and died in 1850, ten years before the Civil War. He left a volume called 'A Disquisition on Government, and a Discourse on the Constitution of the United States,' in which he discusses the politics and constitution of the American Union with direct reference to the problems which culminated in that armed conflict, and found in it a Gordian solution. Broadly speaking, it was in the tendency of the United States to a unitary form of government that Calhoun saw the principal danger. He recognised that the practical guarantee of liberty is the splitting-up of power. Once let power become concentrated in theory, and it will become uncontrolled in fact. The sole depositaries of power, with their hands on the power-machine, will soon get rid of the restrictions which theory imposes upon them. Therefore in the splitting-up of political power Calhoun saw the true security that the will of the people should prevail, and not the will of factions speaking in their name.

Calhoun found evidence of that danger in the threatened overwhelming of the constitution by unitary government concentrated in the hands of a few influential politicians at Washington, backed by a party dependent upon them for success and its rewards. He knew he would be met by the cant phrase, 'But the majority must rule'; the concentration of power in the hands of the representatives of the majority is inevitable. He denies the inference. He denies that a plurality is a majority. A plurality, which he terms a 'numerical majority,' has, he says, no right whatever to rule. The majority which has the right to rule is the 'concurrent majority'—that is, the bulk, the great concurrent mass of the nation; and that just so far as it is concurrent. Neglecting the eccentricities of individuals, he recognises the general legislative right of the vast mass of the nation. How is that will to be ascertained? It is inarticulate, in the nature of things inarticulable, deep, silent, obscure to advertising politicians, surprising in its patience of arbitrary dictation. It is impossible to measure it by votes or plebiscites. The only thing to be done, concludes Calhoun, is to split up the arbitrary forces which may work against it, and so to neutralise their power for evil. Organise every separate interest. Let the

tropic south, the eager north, the agricultural west, have their separate communities, with their jealously-guarded rights which the central power, as it did not give them, cannot abrogate or destroy. Or, as Prof. Flinders Petrie has urged, let the consent of the propertied, the educated, the labouring and the landed classes be severally given for all changes in the law. By some such distribution of power, and so only, will security be afforded that it is the 'concurrent majority' of the people which legislates, and that one section of the nation is not speaking in the name of the whole.

Calhoun did not shrink from the extreme consequences of the position. The 'liberum veto' of Poland, which has been the butt of much misplaced ridicule on the part of superior persons, was justified by him as having given to Poland those two centuries of magnificence which culminated in the Relief of Vienna. The *Comitia Centuriata* at Rome were framed on the same theory; and, when the *Comitia Tributa* displaced them, the times were ripe for the decay of free institutions. It is surely remarkable, he adds, that at Rome popular liberties were preserved by a right of veto—that of the tribunes.

It will be seen that the system so developed is negative. It entrusts separate interests with a veto. This is inherent in the necessities of the case. As we said, the common consciousness of the people is inarticulate, and difficult to plumb. It can only be predicated that, if an important section of the nation is against a particular scheme, that proposal cannot be accepted as in accordance with the national will. It is almost startling at the present day to see with what accuracy Calhoun points out the dangers of an easily-wielded numerical majority. If such a majority is carelessly confused with the 'concurrent' majority, constitutional government slides, first into the government of the 'numerical' majority, and finally into absolute government of some other form. It leads, not to government 'of the people by the people for the people,' but to government 'of a part of the people by a part of the people.' It leads to restrictions on the power of a plurality being regarded with virtuous horror as restrictions on the will of the nation.

Calhoun's words of warning fell on deaf ears. State rights could not be abolished by law; they were abolished

by force. The United States emerged from the Civil War strong, but less free. They have been drifting, since, towards dictatorship; how rapidly, may be judged from the events of the last ten years. We may not absolutely accept Calhoun's teaching. Some would say that, while it prevents class legislation, it affords no check upon national aberrations; though it may be questioned whether anything would. Others might venture to enquire whether the formula of the supreme value of liberty is not susceptible of analysis; whether it may not in the ultimate analysis be found that the true objective is not to diminish the power of rulers, but to secure that all power shall be commensurate with ability and sympathy, or in Ruskin's simpler language, 'that the wise and kind shall rule over the unwise and unkind.' That, however, would be to enter upon a wider question. We are concerned at present with the right of a bare majority to pose as dictators.

✓ Calhoun's remedy, the splitting-up of power, has been carried very much further by some Continental thinkers. In Denmark, where agricultural co-operation has proved so successful, Dr Torbøl of Norre Nebel is urging the grant of the greatest possible share of political power to the smallest possible units of population. Supervision by successively wider and wider areas, with gradually diminishing powers, would guard the fundamental rights of individuals. One object is common to Torbøl's proposals and Calhoun's. They aim at eliminating the dictation of centralised cliques backed by the support of a numerical majority. They desire to establish that unanimous concurrence in national affairs which alone can make a nation strong and fortunate. Without some such vivid local and personal interest in politics which a system like Torbøl's would afford—he terms it 'Localism'—it may seriously be doubted whether safety is to be found in the Referendum. ✓ In a huge mass of voters like the British, with the organised forces of party politics and trades unionism at work, nothing could be easier than to secure a bare Referendum majority for any attractive project of spoliation. It is to be hoped that Mr Balfour's plan may ultimately provide that a two-thirds majority, at any rate, should be requisite. It is inconceivable that half the nation should be the serfs of

the other half. Even the safeguard of a two-thirds majority is efficacious only so long as the Conservative party retains a sentimental hold upon a certain proportion of the artisan class. This is not the place to discuss the Referendum. It is not, however, inappropriate to point out that it is open to the same objections, and may be quite as thoroughly unjust, as any other mode of dictation by a bare majority.

How is it that the superstition of the numerical majority has arisen? It has generally been copied from English parliamentary practice. The problem is therefore to discover how it arose there. Much has been written of late, by Gierke and others, concerning the true nature of a corporation or fictitious person. In the course of the investigation, the question of how the will of the corporation is to be manifested necessarily arises. We may find a very practical illustration of this in the current Irish Reports,* which carry us back to Cardinal Jacobatius' discussion (1584) of how far the corporation can deprive its members of their corporate rights. The Corporation of Trinity College, Dublin, by a majority, proposed to consent to an alteration by the Crown of the constitution of that University. It was argued that the consent of every member was necessary; on the other hand, it was maintained that the act of the majority is, by the common law, the act of the corporation. Mr Justice Ross, though allowing that the changes were of a drastic nature, declined to restrain the majority from consenting to them in the name of the whole corporation, on the ground that the pecuniary interest of the dissentients was not affected. He thus got rid of the authority of *Ward v. Society of Attorneys*, in which Lord Justice Knight Bruce had protected the minority.

We see at once the necessity of determining rationally what persons are entitled to speak in vital matters in the name of the whole body, and of enquiring by what means the corporation can make known its will. 'By affixing its common seal,' says English law; but, then, who is to have the power of lawfully affixing the seal? In old days the question was readily answered: 'anyone who

* *Gray v. Trinity College, Dublin*, 1910, 1 I.R., 370.

can get hold of it.' 'If Brother Walter, the sacrist of St Edmund's, gets hold of the seal . . . and therewith seals a bond for forty marks to Benedict the Jew of Norwich, there is nothing for an enraged abbot to do but to depose Brother Walter.* And normally the abbot kept the seal, and could bind the abbey, and was in fact 'the majority.' Thus the Statute of Carlisle (1307) provided for the seal to be laid up in the custody of five monks, and under the private seal of the abbot. It is stated that in 1449 the Court held this statute void for unreasonableness—a laudable practice which has unfortunately gone out of use—for how could a seal ever be used if it were always locked in a box? But it is curious to note that the old muniment chest of the city of Carlisle has five locks, with five keys, and is to be seen to this day in the civic museum there.

That obscure and fragmentary document, the 'Leges Henrici,' dating from about 1118, tells us that in early English tribunals the opinion of the majority on the bench prevailed; but, when the author comes to details, he qualifies this by declaring, '*vincat sententia meliorum et cui justitia magis acquieverit.*' The sheriff, that is, must decide in accordance with the opinion of the majority; but this must be the majority by rank, repute, and sound judgment.† In such early times as these the corporate character of cities and boroughs is hardly recognised. Cities and towns there are; but their possessions are viewed as the joint possessions of their citizens. In theory the unanimous consent of them all is necessary to dealings with the property. But—again to quote Pollock and Maitland—'the unanimity of ancient moots is wonderful.' 'Dissentients can be shouted down, or compelled to withdraw their opinions.' So that we are still far from the conception of the rule of a bare majority. Half the assembly cannot be shouted down, nor can it be tired out. In 1293 the burgesses (if we may use an inaccurate title) of Toddington convey land; some of them afterwards repudiate the bargain because they were under age at the time. There is no suggestion of their being bound by the majority of adults.

* Pollock and Maitland (i, 491), quoting Jocelyn de Brakelonda.

† Pollock and Maitland (ii, 539) give a rather different interpretation.

Majority decisions came to be accepted at a comparatively early date for the election of members of Parliament. This has, of course, no direct bearing on the problem of the origin of majority rule; for the diversity of interests represented by the various constituencies was sufficient to secure that minorities would have a voice in the House of Commons. Even in elections, however, unanimity long prevailed. By the Reform Act of 1406 returns were to be sealed by all the county electors. The majority of votes was made decisive in 1430, when the forty-shilling freeholder was introduced. In the boroughs it was different. At York, in 28 Eliz.,* we find the majority of thirty-six freeholders nominating four burgesses; then the whole town council appointed two of them and sealed the election. At Worcester, in 1466, the borough members were chosen 'by the most voice.'† But 'the whole of our medieval history scarcely furnishes more than one or two instances of a contested county election; the town histories too are nearly silent.'‡

Ecclesiastical contests were very frequent; but here there was a superior authority to decide matters. In 1299 the monks of Ely were divided in the election of a bishop;§ the majority chose Prior John, the minority the Chancellor, John Langton. The chapter seal was affixed to the record of neither party's election; the king took upon him to confirm the candidate of the minority. The matter was carried to Rome and compromised. Well into the fourteenth century there seems to be no record of dissent in the choosing of a London mayor;|| though there is an undercurrent of popular dissatisfaction with the exercise of the choice by a select few. The 'Chronicon Angliæ' (p. 112), indeed, presents us with a picture of an early majority election—that of a Speaker by the knights of the shire in 1377. But the knights had been packed by the Duke of Lancaster, and the minority was insignificant; 'pauci de fidelioribus, qui remanserant, tantæ multitudini non poterant prævalere.' It is clear that the chronicler considered that a stronger minority would have obtained more consideration.

* Drake, 'Eboracum,' p. 358.

† Stubbs, iii, 451, citing Smith's 'Gilds,' p. 393.

‡ Ib. p. 452.

§ Prynne, 'Records,' iii, 784, 785, 798, 799.

|| Mildmay, 'City of London Elections,' exci.

Stubbs is mistaken in speaking of it as a 'strong' minority—if its numerical strength is intended—for the chronicle repeats that it was the 'pauci qui, ut dixi, remanserant' who then tried to obtain the release of De la Mare. It was strong neither in numbers nor in resolution, for it was soon reduced to terms by threats.

Some, but not much, light is thrown on the problem by the history of juries. This is rather like explaining the less obscure by the more obscure, for the history of the jury is wrapped in Cimmerian gloom. Still, we know that the English jury decides unanimously and the Scottish one by a majority. Can the investigation of their origin lead us to any results of importance? 'We cannot,' says Maitland, 'treat the unanimous verdict as an aboriginal principle.' He might equally have said, 'We cannot treat the majority verdict as an aboriginal principle.' All that can be said is that there the jurors were; there were their respective convictions; and it was an open question whether the presiding judge would (1) analyse them and adopt the most reasonable, (2) take the majority decision, (3) decline to accept anything but unanimity. Maitland thinks that the prevalence of the third method was due to three reasons, the cardinal one of which was this, that the verdict was the verdict of the locality, personified in the twelve jurors. Just as the district must speak with one voice, dissentients being silenced, so must the jury. In the new-fangled and comparatively unimportant 'Assize of Novel Disseisin,' Bracton says that a majority verdict sufficed.*

We can only conclude, on the whole, that in fifteenth century England the general impression was that a body of persons acting in a given capacity must be unanimous; with the practical qualification that the unanimity may take the form of a unanimous suppression of discordant elements, and may include a good deal of reluctant acquiescence. But the Canon Law took another course; and it was with the Canon Law that the early corporations, being mainly ecclesiastical, were mostly concerned. The canon lawyers, say Pollock and Maitland, escaped the fallacy that some natural law enables a majority of members in a duly convened meeting to express

* Cited by Pollock and Maitland, ii, 623.

the will of the corporation. The hierarchical organisation of the ecclesiastical group kept them from this error. The will of the corporation was expressed, not necessarily by the 'major pars conventus,' but by the 'major et sanior pars.' We have therefore the native idea of unanimity, produced by compromise and the suppression of insignificant opposition; and the canonical idea of *intrinsic reasonableness*, which may in ordinary matters of administration be ascertained, *prima facie*, by numbers.

Let us now see how Parliament acted. The first cases of division recorded in the Commons Journals (which begin in 1547) are cases of rejection; of course a majority may well claim a right of veto. Thus on December 8, 1548 (the date of the earliest such division recorded), a private Bill for assurance of the Earl of Bath's lands is noted—'vacat per majorem numerum super Quæstione.' Then on February 1 in the ensuing year a Bill for uniting Trinity Hall and Clerk Hall was lost in the same way, and one for the Rearing of Calves on February 23. On March 28, 1549, a private Bill was rejected by 69 to 68. It is not until 1554, in the reign of Queen Mary I, that we get in the Journals an instance of the passing of a Bill by a majority. This was on April 19 of that year. The entry in the 'Journals' is short.

'Arguments upon the Bill for the Bishop of Durham.

'Upon the question for the Bill, the House did divide; and the number that said Yea to the Bill were 201 persons, and against the Bill, but 120; and so the Bill passed * with Yea.'

But a very significant *addendum* follows. 'It is agreed by the House that Mr Speaker, in their names, shall require the Bishop of Durham to show favour unto Sir Francis Jobson, Kt., in his suit'—clearly a compromise in view of the considerable minority.† In the subsequent Parliament a curious incident is recorded—the voluntary secession of thirty-three members of Parliament, who went on strike because they found the majority 'inclined to sacrifice everything to the Ministry.'

* The Bill had been rejected by a majority on Dec. 4, 1553 ('Com. Journals').

† Jobson had been granted bishopric lands by King Edward VI; see Commons' Journals, April 18.

They were indicted; and six of them submitted to the payment of fines, whilst the Queen's demise stopped the proceedings against the rest. Plowden was one of them. Whether any earlier divisions ever resulted in the passage of a Bill of public importance may be doubted. A story is told in the *Parliamentary History* (vol. iii, p. 34) that in 15 Hen. VIII, on a motion for an increased supply, it was doubtful whether the Yeas or the Noes had it. The House divided, the citizens and burgesses by themselves, and the knights on the other side. Apparently each interest was unanimous; the town representatives affirmed that those in favour of the motion were enemies to the realm.* The King then privately sent for the Speaker† and threatened him; and on the next day the Bill passed. This rests on no firmer foundation than gossip out of old letters; and it may be doubted whether the division by Yea and Nay is not the embroidery of a later time. It seems much more likely that here we have a glimpse of an older procedure—the voting by interests, town and country opposing each other. It is most unlikely that the knights present on this occasion exactly equalled the numbers of the burgesses. The deadlock was probably caused by the burgesses (of whatever number) standing out as a class against the county members; and, if this is so, we have an invaluable indication that the principle of numerical rule took consistency during Henry's prolonged reign. In 33 Henry VIII (1542), a member was arrested for debt, and, he being discharged by the House, the creditor's remedy was preserved to him by 14 votes. This incident, related by Hollingshead (p. 955), appears to be the first unequivocal instance of a division in the House of Commons: but it dealt with a mere personal indulgence to an individual.

On February 24, 1558, a resolution was taken by 112 to 107; but it was again rather of the nature of a judicial

* The proposal was that an existing land tax of $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. should be levied on personal property as well.

† The 'Parl. Hist.' says 'an influential member'; but from the original story in Collins' 'Peerage,' s.v. 'Manchester,' it seems that it was Sir Edw. Montacute, the Speaker (afterwards Chief Justice, and ancestor of the Dukes of Manchester). The 'Dict. of Nat. Biog.' discredits the whole anecdote, because More is supposed to have been Speaker at the time, and there is no record of Montacute's ever being in Parliament. But the story is circumstantial.

determination in a private matter, i.e. whether a fraudulent outlaw should continue to sit for Camelford. It was decided that he should. So, on January 21, 1581, after a warm debate, a public fast was appointed in the Temple Church by 115 to 100.* In one case, in 1571, on the question being put regarding the second reading of a Bill to enable non-residents to be elected as burgesses, 'some said Yea, and some Nay, but the greater number seemed to say Yea'; whereupon the debate appears to have commenced again *de novo* (D'Ewes, 168). That the habit of taking divisions was novel may perhaps be inferred from another incident related by D'Ewes (p. 54). A member declared to the House that the Master of the Rolls' servant had boasted of hearing the Lords say at his master's table that 'If a Bill were brought in for women's wares in their pastes, they [the Commons] would dispute it and go to the question.'†

The jealousy which the Houses of Parliament long showed of any report of their proceedings makes it difficult to say how far these instances were typical. Why, in these sporadic cases, the clerks should lift the curtain and set down the figures, it is difficult to say. It was not until late in the seventeenth century that regular treatises on parliamentary procedure were composed. Scobell then (1656) shows us the modern system of voting by count of heads as in regular force for the determination of every question. It seems, says Redlich (ii, 260), to have been looked upon, at the end of the 16th century, 'as an unusual and important matter;' and the practical difficulties of division were the subject of complaint. It was the custom that one party should leave the House and be counted outside; they complained that members were afraid to join them, for fear of losing their seats. Sometimes members were subjected to the gentle suasion of a friendly pull. Thus in the close division of March 13, 1601, it was complained that one of the members, who wished to go out with the Nays,

* D'Ewes, pp. 232-3. 'The House being divided, and many arguments being spent *pro et con.*, at length the said matter in question was put to voices, and the better side had the greater number; for there were 115 voices for it, and but 100 against it.'

† The servant was committed; but, Parliament being dissolved three weeks later, we hear no more of the incident.

had been held back by another member. Sir Walter Raleigh remarked, like a bold sailor, 'Why, if it please you, it is a small matter to pull one by the sleeve, for so I have done myself sometimes.'

In the obscurity which remains, there seem to be two possible hypotheses open. First, that decisions of the House were long unanimous in theory; that the minority gave way and concurred in the evident sense of the great bulk of the House; that divisions were resorted to but seldom, and in comparatively unimportant matters; but that insensibly they came to be accepted as a simple and efficient, if unsatisfactory, means of arriving at a rapid decision on all matters. This seems to be on the whole the most reasonable theory. Redlich takes a different view, holding that divisions, which he has already admitted to be infrequent and unusual, so late as the sixteenth century, were almost coeval with the existence of the House. 'As soon as we are able to follow the proceedings of the House in detail,' he declares, 'we find the majority principle old-established and uncontested.' But the House has already existed for three hundred years before we are able to follow its proceedings in detail. When we can do so, we find divisions recorded on the rarest occasions, and seldom or never on vital questions.

Redlich supports his theory by the suggestion that, in adopting the majority principle, the Commons imitated the practice of the Magnum Concilium which existed in feudal times. Magna Carta contains a provision that, out of twenty-five guardian barons, the majority present at a duly-summoned meeting can act. The Provisions of Oxford give their twenty-five select nobles a veto on the acts of the Chancellor, exercisable by the 'greinure partie.' But these cases are very far from establishing a general rule. In each case it is a check which is imposed upon the arbitrary action of the executive. The guardian barons under Magna Carta are a committee of check upon the King. Naturally the majority at a meeting can exercise the check. Any single baron of the twenty-five might almost have been entrusted with the power. The twenty-five lords under the Provisions of Oxford are again a committee of check upon the Chancellor. Naturally it was desired to

remove the necessity for the concurrence of all. These are cases like those familiar to lawyers, when several persons are appointed to act for a certain purpose, such as taking evidence on commission, 'such powers to be exercisable by any two or more of you.' They have no direct bearing on the history of majority rule.

A much more striking clause of the Provisions of Oxford remains to be noticed. That instrument was a regular written Constitution of the Kingdom, rendered necessary by the misgovernment of Henry III. In many ways it is a surprisingly good and well thought-out document, and may in this respect be put on a level with Cromwell's Instrument of Government. Its one aim was to provide for a distribution of power. It was drawn up by a council of twenty-four—half nominated by the King, and half by the barons on the point of revolt against him. These twenty-four nobles agreed with apparent unanimity to the so-called Provisions of Oxford as a constitutional compromise designed to remove a deadlock. Neither party would consent to be placed in a position of inferiority; consequently the only hope of averting deadlocks lay in reliance on personal character, and in the elimination of party politics by successive elections.

The plan was this. The twelve king's men chose two of the barons' men, while the barons chose two of the king's. Then the four were to elect the king's executive Council of fifteen; and the election required the consent of the majority of the twenty-four. Here, indeed, we have mention of a majority. But who could hope for unanimity in such circumstances? A majority here would mean the conversion of a party foe; the arrangement contains within itself the necessity of compromise. A better constitution has probably never existed in England. It was too good to last, and retired in favour of civil war and foreign invasion. The parliaments (three per annum) for which it provided were to be magnified images of the Council; twelve men of the commonalty (unanimously chosen) and the fifteen councillors selected as above were to compose it. And what the numerical majority of the twenty-seven did, was to be 'firm and established.' Indeed, their unanimity is indirectly assumed. For it is only to meet the con-

tingency that they cannot all be present, that the decree of the majority is made 'ferm et estable.'

Here, then, we have an elaborate compromise system, designed to secure a thorough balancing of interests, such that, to obtain a majority, any decision must be of the nature of a complete compromise. It was an unusual expedient, for which the times were not ripe. Is it too much to say that nothing whatever can be based upon it by way of conjecture as to the ordinary working of the great Council of State? How Redlich can possibly assert that these isolated provisions as to veto, coupled with the extraordinary effort at constitution-making which we have dealt with, 'make it clear that decisions of the Magnum Concilium' (with which they have nothing whatever to do) 'were arrived at by a majority long before representatives of towns and counties were regularly called to a Parliamentum in union with the Magnum Concilium,' it is impossible to understand. McKechnie, in his work on Magna Carta, sees no such connexion. 'The precedent thus tentatively introduced for the right of a majority to act for the whole was followed only timidly and at long intervals' (p. 552).

We should be sorry, however, to convey the impression that Redlich upholds the modern unlimited range of majority rule. He speaks of the protection of the minority as 'one of the fundamental principles of parliamentary life' (iii, 181). And, following Jellinek, he admits that, when there exist political feelings of great intensity, such as nationalism or ecclesiasticism, the majority principle must needs begin to lose its moral force. 'At the same time, and to the same degree, the principle of protection for the minority begins to suffer from decay. There is a total collapse of the system of ideas of representative government, based as it is on understandings and a common loyalty' (iii, 197).

In the House of Lords itself, the direct successor of the Magnum Concilium, we find no trace of the early dominion of a bare majority. Decisions of the Privy Council could, indeed, be taken by a majority, according to rules which received parliamentary sanction in 1429 (Rot. Parl. iv, 343).

'VII. Item, that in all things that owith to pass and be agreed by the said Council, there be six or four at the least

present of the said Council, without the officers, assembled in form of Council and in place appointed therefor . . . so always that no matter be taken as assented, but at the least there assent thereto four councillors and an officer, whose assent nevertheless shall not suffice but if they make the more party of the number that is then present at the Council.'

Under Art. IX, the removal or penalisation of a councillor or great officer must proceed 'by the assent and advice of the more part' of all the Council. By Art. XIII, the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester had a suspensive veto; at the next meeting the decision was to be finally concluded in favour of 'the more party in number'; if the numbers were equal, the party of the dukes was to prevail. But these determinations, so arrived at by a majority, were of course administrative and judicial, and in no sense legislative. As we have so often observed, majority decisions are not majority rule. The former are necessary adjuncts to the work of administration; what an adult king could have done alone may well be committed to the majority of the advisers of an infant king.

We find no records of dissents in the Lords prior to the specific instances which are assignable of divisions in the Lower House. A few Lords could not, like a few freeholders or a few commoners, be 'shouted down.' Their voice could not be overwhelmed in the 'general sense' of the House. It is remarkable, therefore, that we never find a great array of Lords entering protests in early times. This is a clear indication that, where opinion was fairly divided, unanimity was eventually secured by mutual accommodation. The first instance of a protest is said to have occurred in Edward III's time; but it was signed only by the Chancellor and the Treasurer, with some of the judges. It was the protest of an insignificant minority in the Lords, evoked by an invitation to swear on the Cross of Canterbury to observe the statute; which, as it struck at their practices, these high officers were naturally unwilling to do.

The earliest instance of dissent on the part of lay lords being noted in the Lords' Journals is said by the Parliamentary History to be one which occurred on December 14, 1547 (1 Edw. VI). 'Legebatur quædam provisio, annectanda Billæ pro confirmatione literarum

patentium quæ communi omnium procerum assensu conclusa est, excepto domino ammirallo Angliæ et marchione Dorset.' It was followed by another on the next day, in the case of a steelyard measure, 'conclusa, exceptis comite Salopiæ, dominis Admirallo Angliæ et Cobham.' On the same day (December 15), the Archbishop of Canterbury and seven bishops dissented from the suppression of chantries, in a House of 38, seven bishops being in favour of it, with 23 lords. The minority was here about a fifth. It is scarcely conceivable that the dissent of larger minorities would fail to be recorded. The Parliamentary History is wrong in its dates; earlier records of dissent are to be found. Thus, on December 19, 1545, in a thin house of 26, 'lecta est billa for the amendment of the highway beside Chester, quæ communi omnium procerum consensu expedita est et conclusa, refragantibus comite Sussex et domino Cromwell.' And a Bill concerning hand-guns was passed on December 18, 1545, against the opposition of 6 lords out of 32. Lord Sussex was here again a dissenter. In the earliest case of dissent but one—Rogers seems to think it the earliest—a Bill for the allowance of Sheriffs' expenses was consented to by everyone, 'except Lord Sussex' (April 19, 1542). On the same day, a Bill against disentailing passed with 4 dissentients. The dissent of prelates seems to have been earlier recorded. The Bishop of Durham dissented from a Corporation Lease Bill on March 6, 1541; and this is the first occasion noted.

These records of dissent do not appear to be of the nature of the formal Protest, now recognised as one of the privileges of the Lords, but to be the mere expression of the fact that a small minority persisted in its opposition to the last moment. Thorold Rogers, indeed, takes the modern practice of Protest to be an independent institution commencing with the Long Parliament, and introduced because of the secrecy of its proceedings. Of these earlier records of dissent, a few are noted in the reign of Henry VIII. No less than 37 occur in the reign of Edward VI, the largest minority being one of 10—all lay—in a house of 33, on the Bill allowing priests to marry. Twenty-two are entered under Mary I; in one case (May 5, 1554) a Bill for currying leather is passed 'majore procerum numero consentiente,' and another

for leather exported to Calais rejected 'maj. proc. num. dissentiente.' In the first few years of Elizabeth's reign there are several instances. Thereafter we find only casual and infrequent references to divisions in the House of Lords until far into the reign of Charles I.* Thus, neither from the records of the House of Commons nor from those of the House of Lords can we be sure that the early Tudor Parliaments habitually regarded any numerical majority, short of an overwhelming one, < as decisive. We see occasional majority decisions, but no evidence of a settled practice.

The notion that decision by a bare majority was the well-recognised practice on all questions rests upon a statement by Smith ('De Repub. Anglorum') who states the rule without qualification. Sir T. Smith wrote his < treatise in 1562-6, but it was not printed till twenty years afterwards (1583). At the time of its composition he was joint ambassador to France, and had been Dean of Carlisle. His experience of the House of Commons, as a member, dated from 1553, when he was for some months member for Grampound. He was again elected a member (for Liverpool) on January 6, 1559. His own knowledge of the procedure is therefore post-Henrican. But he had earlier opportunities of ascertaining the facts. He was Regius Professor and Vice-Chancellor at Cambridge in 1543; he was *persona grata* at Court; he was intimately associated with the Protector Somerset; and in 1547 he became clerk to the Privy Council. A much later occupant of that office has taught us what opportunities it affords of becoming acquainted with the *arcana* of government. When, therefore, Smith, writing about 1564, affirms that the rule was to take the decision of the majority, we may well believe him. Only he does not tell us what we did not know. From the Commons Journals it is obvious that divisions, though apparently extremely infrequent, were known in the reign of Edward VI. It may safely be surmised that the usage had been in course of formation for

* In 1580, and again in 1601, an equality of votes occurred. The question at issue was decided differently on these occasions; which seems to show that no precedents existed, or were known. Had the practice of deferring to a narrow majority been long established, some rule for dealing with cases of equality would surely have been evolved.

some years. Under conditions of secrecy, usage grows in a very short time indeed. The course of business in the Cabinet to-day is a secret; but it is beginning to be openly known that decisions are, at any rate in some cases, taken by something like a vote. A modern Smith might lay this down as a rule; but how long the rule had been in process of formation would remain entirely uncertain. A positive rule laid down, in such circumstances, as true for 1564, concludes nothing as to 1524.

If the practice of deciding the most important matters by a bare majority had indeed been long established, whence was it derived? Not, as we have seen, from the rules in force with regard to corporations, juries, or the assemblies of magnates. A remaining source of imitation might have been the Church. It will be useful to examine the practice of the Church in this matter, as it has been put forward by Redlich as an obvious precedent of which Parliament could readily avail itself. As we have seen, Pollock and Maitland tell us that the Canon Law avoided the fallacy that a bare majority has any natural title to represent the will of the whole body. The 'pars sanior,' with its superior sanity allowed by the superior authority, prevails, though its numbers may sometimes be regarded as an index to its wisdom.

The decrees of the Synod of Elvira (A.D. 305) all commence with the words 'Episcopi universi dixerunt' (Héfélé, 'Conciles,' i, 131). At the better-known Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325), Socrates informs us that there were only five dissentients to the Nicene Creed out of hundreds present. Three of these gave in, and two alone remained to be anathematised. The Council came to a decision as to the date of celebrating Easter; the resolution was not erected into a canon, and Héfélé (p. 320) suggests that this was because it was nothing like unanimous. The fourth canon seems to require the unanimous consent of the comprovincials to the election of a bishop. A very important canon is the sixth: 'If a person is elected bishop by all, after due consideration and in conformity with the canon, if two or three oppose the election out of a pure spirit of contradiction, the majority shall carry the day' (κρατείτω ἡ τῶν πλείονων ψήφος). At the Synod of

Tyre (A.D. 335), which was packed with Eusebians, Athanasius withdrew with his party, saying, 'It is well known that the decrees of one party have not the force of law'—a good motto for constitutionalists ('Apol. c. Arianos,' c. 82). So, at the Synod of Milan (A.D. 355), Eusebius of Vercelli, Dionysius of Milan, and Lucifer of Calaris dissented from the condemnation of Athanasius, pronounced, under pressure from Constantius, by 300 bishops, mainly Western. At the Synod of Rimini (A.D. 359) the Arian party and the Athanasian majority communicated separately with the Emperor; and, under pressure from him, the latter gave way. Twenty out of 320 alone remained irreconcilable to the Imperial compromise. The threat of exile did not move them; the Imperial legate had recourse to entreaties and tears. Their colleagues who had signed, friends and opponents alike, were all detained in the depth of winter at Rimini. Finally the dissentients secured the formal anathematisation of Arius as an integral part of the decision of the Synod (Héfélé, ii, 92). At the simultaneous Eastern Synod of Seleucia, the semi-Arian majority of 150 was faced by a composite minority of some 50 Arians, who also prevailed through Imperial support. In the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) some 600 bishops were present. There was a general subscription of a formula drawn up by Pope Leo. Thirteen bishops from Egypt refused to sign, knowing that life in Egypt would be unendurable were they to do so without the consent of an archbishop of Alexandria. 'A dozen men,' observed the papal legate, 'must not be allowed to render nugatory a synod of six hundred'; but the conclusion drawn was, not that the dozen could be ignored, but that they must be converted. The Fifth and Sixth Œcumenical Councils were unanimous (Héfélé, iv, 164); and so, it seems, were those that followed them in early times.

The first modern instance of anything like a majority in the Councils of the Church was at Pisa in 1409. Two rival popes were deposed; and the Council had to consider whether cardinals appointed by those persons should be admitted to vote in the election of a new one. Some of the French bishops objected, but the majority overcame their opposition—unfortunately we are not told how. We see here traces of the national grouping in Councils

which soon attained expression in the system of voting by 'nations.' At the Council of Constance in 1414 this method was adopted in order to neutralise the numerical preponderance of the Italian bishops and doctors. But how was it imposed on the Italians? They alone counted nearly half the membership of the Council. Here again we have no clue. It may have been by the threat of secession, or by the personal influence of Charles V. At Pavia in 1423 each nation appointed delegates by the voice of the '*melior et sanior pars*.' In 1424 the president of the French 'nation' had only a majority of nine. At Basel, in 1437, a question arose as to whether a Council to treat of union with the Greek Church should be held in Savoy or in Italy. Majority and minority published different decisions, read them in each other's faces, and sang rival *Te Deums* (ib. xi, 363).

(The majority pointed proudly to its numbers, the minority to its reasonableness. The cardinal who had the custody of the seal would not affix it to either resolution. The consequence—after several days' deadlock—was a unanimous reference to two arbitrators and an umpire, the Bishop of Burgos. The majority decree was selected by them for signature. But the Archbishop of Tarentum with four accomplices gained possession of the seal, and sealed the minority decision. The Pope (Eugene) confirmed the minority decree. The Council summoned him to appear before them; but, although they alleged every possible cause of complaint, they do not appear to have taken exception to this act of his. Curiously, they seem to have been unanimous in condemning him; perhaps the minority, whose decree he had 'sealed into authenticity,' had seceded. Meantime, the ambassadors of the minority and the Pope arrived at Constantinople to treat with the Greeks. They said candidly that they were the '*pars minor*,' but nevertheless that it was the '*pars sanior*,' and was rapidly increasing. The Greek Emperor accepted their version in preference to that of the delegates of the majority when they in their turn arrived.

The Council of Ferrara, immediately convened by the Pope, came to the striking resolution to adopt a two-thirds majority as alone conclusive. Not only so, but the Council sat in three orders—bishops, abbots, and

doctors—who must all concur. Immediately we begin to hear of majority decisions, unknown since the era of Nicaea, a thousand years before. Thus (Héfélé, xi, 399, 402, note) it was decided by a majority to proceed with the general question of altering creeds before discussing the ‘Filioque’ clause. But this facile method was not used for more serious purposes. When long discussions had failed to produce an agreement on the ‘Filioque’ clause, the Latins offered to abide by the decision of the majority of the whole assembly (ib. xi, 425). The answer of the Greeks was that this would be a measure entirely novel and entirely unknown in practice. Finally a formula was agreed upon to which there was only a single dissentient, the Archbishop of Ephesus. Even then the Pope exclaimed, ‘Then we have accomplished nothing’ (ib. p. 461). At Trent, however, in the middle of the sixteenth century, we find the plurality system in full working order, except that ‘it was an order of the Council that no “point of doctrine” could be established if a “considerable” party opposed it, though it had been carried by plurality of votes, but that “some” casting votes were sufficient for a “point of reformation.”’* This caused some difficulty with regard to the decree on the Eucharist, since twenty-three prelates, including the Archbishop of Granada, opposed it. And it caused endless disputes as to what were ‘points of doctrine’ and ‘reformation’ respectively.†

As regards the procedure in less important bodies, such as cathedral chapters, we find in Gregory’s Decretals, A.D. 1234 (III, xi, 1), that in ecclesiastical corporations the acts of the majority prevail, ‘nisi minor pars rationaliter contradicat.’ This is founded on one of the decisions of the Lateran Council held (A.D. 1179) under Alexander III (c. 16).

‘Cum in cunctis ecclesiis, quod pluribus et sanioribus fratribus visum fuerit, incunctanter debeat observari, grave nimis est

* Jurieu, ‘Hist. of the Council of Trent,’ p. 394.

* According to Gibert (C.I.C., 1735, i, 92), at Constance in 1415 the Spaniards challenged the right of the English to a whole vote, and thought a half-vote adequate to their numbers. It was proposed alternatively to revert to the system of counting by heads, but the English insisted on following the example of the Israelites, who voted by tribes, and also that of the religious orders, which voted by provinces and districts.

et reprehensione dignissimum, quod per quasdam ecclesias pauci quandoque non tam de ratione quam de propria voluntate ad ordinationem ecclesiasticam procedere non permittunt. Quocirca presenti decreto statuimus, ut (nisi a paucioribus et inferioribus aliquid rationabiliter objectum fuerit et ostensum), appellatione remota praevalcat semper et suum consequatur effectum, quod a majori et saniori parte* capituli fuerit constitutum. Nec constitutionem nostram impediat, si forte aliquis ad conservandam ecclesiae suae consuetudinem juramento dicat adstrictum. Nec enim juramenta, sed potius perjuria sunt dicenda, quae contra utilitatem ecclesiae et sanctorum patrum veniunt instituta.'

These canons bear testimony to the need which was felt at the moment for precise regulation. Alexander III himself had only assumed the tiara after a furious conflict in the Cardinalate, in the course of which both parties had elected a pope. The very first of these canons regulates the form of papal election for the future, and provides that 'Si . . . duabus partibus concordantibus tertia pars noluerit concordare, aut sibi alium praesumpserit ordinare, ille pontifex Romanus habeatur, qui a duabus partibus fuerit electus et receptus.' In other words, it recognises a two-thirds majority; and it subjects the other side and their nominee to excommunication and consigns them to the company of Dathan and Abiram. It imposes the same penalty on all those who affect to assume office without a two-thirds majority. But it carefully preserves the general rule that 'majoris et sanioris partis debet sententia praevalere,' because in general there is a higher authority to which the minority can appeal.† There are other rescripts of Innocent III which seem to show that the majority decision was in practice generally allowed. But the decree of the Council held by Alexander and the famous rescript 'Capitulo Catalanensi'‡ of Gregory IX show that the vote of the

* In reading 'majori et seniori parte' Héfélé is certainly wrong. Thus, we have a rescript of Innocent III (1198), in which the refusal of some of the chapter of Rouen to agree with the archbishop and the majority to pay for improvements to the fabric is reproved, and the Pope declares, 'ut si quis vestrum tuis, et majoris et sanioris partis capituli, statutis super hoc constitutionibus, duxerit resistendum, obtineat sententia plurimorum.'

† See also 'Decretals,' I, v, 3 (3); I, vi, 21-23, 48.

‡ Ib. 57.

'major pars' was insufficient unless it was also 'sanior.*' In the latter case, 17 canons, including Canon A., had elected B.; and 14 had elected A. It was argued that 'per hoc debebat pars sua sanior reputari, quum, ubi maior numerus est, zelus melior præsumatur.' The other side went into the merits, and said B. was not old enough or learned enough, and that his electors were not so old and learned as those of A.; and therefore A.'s supporters had the 'melior zelus.' Gregory held the election invalid.

Divisions in the Convocation of Canterbury begin to be noted at about the same time as divisions in the House of Commons, and occur with the same infrequency.† The Book of Common Prayer was unanimously accepted in 1660, and so were the Canons in 1604. The Canons of 1640 were strongly dissented from by the crypto-Roman Bishop (Goodman) of Gloucester.‡ Laud told him he must subscribe them; on his continued refusal the 'major pars' of the bishops voted for his deprivation. The recalcitrant bishop then hurriedly subscribed, and declined to afford any further particulars as to his mental attitude. Then the rest of the Upper House suspended him with unanimity. It seems that their majority vote of deprivation was regarded as nugatory; for how can you suspend a bishop from his office who has already been deprived of it, unless, indeed, the concurrence of the Lower House were considered necessary to the sentence? The bare-majority principle was, therefore, not taken at an early date from Rome by way of Convocation; for Convocation only adopted it, so far as we know, late in its history. It could hardly have come from Rome at all. Rome did not recognise it, requiring reasonableness rather than numbers. When it was forced to count heads, it counted them by two to one. Cardinal Jacobatius, the canonist (vi, 2), writing in 1584, expresses this necessity that the 'major pars' should be 'sanior.' And, although there was a presumption of 'sanitas' in the decree of a majority, it was a presumption that was easily displaced.

We have, therefore, two distinct principles in the

* Innocent had repeated the phrase (ib. 42).

† Gibson ('Syn. Angl.' i, 177) alludes to cases of voting in 1532-3; and Warner ('Ecl. Hist. Eng.' ii, 430) mentions one in 1562.

‡ Cardwell, 'Synodalia,' ii, 628.

Canon Law itself: a corporation could be bound by its
 > 'major et sanior pars,' and so perhaps could a provincial council; but a general council, above whom was no authority (except, in later times, the Pope), must decide its own sanity; and this—for eleven centuries dependent on unanimity—was ultimately held to be dependent on
 > the securing of a two-thirds majority. It is curious to note that the same two-thirds majority is required for any alteration in the Canons of the Church of Ireland. Subject to correction, it scarcely seems that either the practice of capitular bodies or the two-thirds majority of Ferrara can have led directly to the bare majority principle as adopted by the House of Commons; or that either practice should have led to it mediately (as Redlich supposes) through being adopted by the magnates, who were often ecclesiastics. A *prima facie* rule for administering a convent is not a rule which strongly suggests itself for governing a nation. The idea of majority decision (if we need trace it to anything beyond the common ideas of mankind) may well have come from the Church. The idea of majority domination could not possibly have had such an origin.

Apparently the real reason for the growth of the idea of majority domination was a much simpler and
 > more natural one. It is suggested that mental indolence was responsible for the acceptance of majority rule; that people who were accustomed to accept majority decisions in indifferent matters came to believe that they were
 > obliged to accept them in all matters. If you amicably agree by 180 to 170 that an outlaw shall sit for Camel-ford, or that there shall be no fast in the Temple Church on Sunday, you insensibly come to fancy that by 180 to
 > 170 you can abolish the bishops and introduce the millen-nium. It may be that the autocracy of Henry VIII had something to do with the development. We have seen him reasonably suspected of threatening the Speaker's head, to ensure the passage of a Bill. A division of opinion which might well have led to compromise in earlier times would lead to ready acquiescence in a
 (majority decision if that were understood to be accept-able to the king. And it is remarkable that at the beginning of his reign we seem to see the last traces of

the old process of voting by interests and not by heads. But the main influence seems surely to have been that disposition to take the easiest mental road, which long ago converted our elective monarchy into an hereditary one, and has laid down those extraordinary doctrinal assumptions as to the powers of the Crown and the House of Lords which the country is at present trying to bring into correspondence with common sense.

The very absence of all writing or speculation upon the subject strongly suggests that, impossible as it may be to trace the superstition of the necessary despotism of the numerical majority to its dark historical origins, the most rational and direct explanation of its rise is that, like other superstitions, it was cradled in uncritical carelessness, and brought to its modern pitch of luxuriant rankness through indolence. Never deliberately or of set purpose adopted as a political principle, it has drifted into a casual acceptance through loose political thinking. In Europe and America alike, publicists who have resisted the hypnotism of tradition have demonstrated the necessity of consulting separate interests in the body politic. Such diverse churches as those of Rome and Ireland—not to speak of commercial companies and firms—give to minorities their due weight.

It may fairly be concluded that no system based on the dictation of a clique which *quocumque modo* can secure a numerical majority in a sharp conflict can hope for permanence. Such a system is that created by the Parliament Act. The net result of the events of the past summer has been to substitute the Crown for the House of Lords as the moderating force in English politics; not because the Crown has as yet exercised a moderating force, so far as we can tell, but because there is nothing else left to fulfil the function. It is the only remaining bulwark against revolution; and it is unreasonable to suppose that, in the face of revolution, it will not be invoked. True, the Crown adopted a studiously colourless attitude in face of the Parliament Bill itself. But the Parliament Bill, if it evoked little passion in the country at large in support of it, evoked little in opposition. The House of Lords had exercised its power of veto so timidly that in reality the Act may make little difference. It was concerned with machinery

only ; its passage makes no overt and obvious difference to any private voter ; its effects lie in the future. But (let a Bill be introduced which does affect individual rights, and let it be forced through as a Money Bill, or after two years' delay, against the keen opposition of half the country. Inevitably, in such a case, the Crown must act as arbiter and moderator. Otherwise the country will be plunged into revolution ; the organised party representing the interests which are against the measure can paralyse the wheels of government.

The more the Crown endeavours to keep out of politics, the more surely and irresistibly must it be drawn into their vortex. Once let passions be excited, and the Crown can no longer maintain the neutral attitude of a gilded vane. It cannot be neutral ; it must make its choice between offending the high priests of superstition and tradition, on the one hand, and trampling on the liberties of half the nation on the other. It is a hard choice ; but the only other organ which could have borne the brunt of it has practically vanished. The impartiality of the Crown may be the impartiality of an equal balance-holder or the impartiality of a weathercock. So long as there is some other authority to hold the balance, the Crown may maintain that lofty aloofness from political crises which everyone would desire to see preserved. But, when there is no such authority, what is there to protect the Throne from being dragged into the arena ? The Justice of the King is the sole safeguard of the minority in the coming days when a permanent majority of strikers seems a probable feature of British politics. How can that justice be invoked without response ? The Crown has become, by the acts of Liberals, a vital force of the near future. Except that the veto of the Crown exists, Great Britain is now in the enjoyment of a political system which has no pretensions to be scientific, reasonable, or natural. The old exaltation of the majority, in the face of a clique or a tyrant, has passed unnoticed into an exaltation of the majority as against the nation. Nature does not forgive mistakes. Least of all does she condone reckless mistakes. And this mistake, like others, will have to be paid for.

TH. BATY.

Art. 2.—NEW LIGHT ON GEORGE SAND. ✓

1. *Lettres à Alfred de Musset et à Sainte-Beuve.* Edited by S. Rocheblave. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1897.
2. *La véritable Histoire d' 'Elle et Lui.'* By Vicomte de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1897.
3. *George Sand.* By Wladimir Karénine. Vols I, II. Paris: Ollendorff, 1899.
4. *Une Histoire d'Amour: George Sand et Musset.* By P. Mariéton. Paris: Ollendorff, 1903.
5. *Les Amants de Venise.* By C. Maurras. Paris: Fontemoing, n.d.
6. *George Sand et sa fille.* By S. Rocheblave. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, n.d. [1905].

THE 'Letters of George Sand,' edited by her son Maurice, were a welcome and seemingly definite contribution towards our knowledge of her character and genius. But since the sixth and last volume, issued in 1884, many more letters of great importance have been brought forward, in excerpts or in whole series, accompanied by personal reminiscences and critical comment. There is a mass of correspondence, indeed, still unpublished. But Wladimir Karénine (Mme Komaroff) has made good use of her access to it; and it may well be doubted whether the comprehension of George Sand will be greatly modified by further detail. The present moment is favourable for the consideration of these additions made to the material of study. It was barely possible, for instance, to deal equitably with her relations to Alfred de Musset until the war of partisanship had subsided.

The Romantic period of French literature was pre-eminently lyrical and subjective. An enrichment of language and imagination; dissatisfaction with the present state of society expressed by the vivid representation of an idealised past; the desire to transcend the horizons of the eighteenth century; the boundless claim to cultivate personality and carry Rousseau and the Revolution to their logical issue—these are elements of the literature developed with more or less consciousness by the Romantic writers. George Sand, in her early days, was lyrical—to use the gentlest term—in an exuberant degree. She unloaded her bosom of perilous stuff

by public confession, without regard to consequences. Her youth, indeed, was but a stage towards the attainment of her later equilibrium. She passed from self-seeking to devoted service; she gained the deeper individuality by the loving recognition of the moral and universal order. But the unity of her whole art, of her life and art, is readily to be discerned. The balance of her qualities may shift; but the later and the earlier works are mutually illustrative. And also, whether she writes letters or literature—her letters *are* literature—she expresses more than herself. The whole question is enlarged. She delivers credible testimony as to the state of mind and feeling in her times. Her love-adventures reveal the ideal of her contemporaries. ‘All is history,’ as she says; ‘even novels’—and even letters. Nor is the Romantic love of 1830 mere bygone matter of antiquarian interest. The neo-Romanticism of the present is the same, or a bolder, demand for the full and free development of the individual.

The relations of George Sand and Alfred de Musset have been commonly regarded by the French as the typical romance of the nineteenth century. Be that as it may, upon the new evidence, what is clearer than ever is that, for a season, these two lovers could not endure the absence, and still less the presence, of each other. They felt the need, and found the means, to part. They feared to remember, and remembered. Each desired in the other the full and rare capacity of poetry; they, if any, should be able to commune, as it were, in the full Romantic ideal. But, otherwise, they were incompatible. ‘I love you no longer, but I adore you for always,’ wrote George Sand, escaping at length. ‘I have found you, and need seek no more,’ wrote Musset, endeavouring to break the bond. Each had much to forgive and regret; each freely took the blame, and all the blame. ‘See if I shall not write upon her tomb that she was sincere, good and great,’ he exclaims in a last letter. And, but a while before, she had sighed: ‘Alas, my child! we love each other, that is the only sure thing between us. Time and absence have not prevented us from loving, and never will prevent. But is our life together possible?’ And twenty-five years later she writes to Sainte-Beuve:

'Peace and pardon, that is the whole conclusion; but also, in the future, a ray of light upon this story.'

The ray of light has come in the publication of the correspondence about which she was consulting Sainte-Beuve. Both, indeed, had told their tale while still they were alive. Each in turn had sought for an explanation why their love had met disaster; had expressed adoration and regret. But lyrical expression, the explanation afforded in the '*Confession d'un Enfant du Siècle*,' the '*Nuits*,' and the '*Lettres d'un Voyageur*,' was emotion, art. And besides, chivalry and mistrust, rapture and rancour, alternated with Alfred de Musset, as we know from the '*Nuits*' and the '*Histoire d'un Merle blanc*.' The legend, adverse to George Sand, was being propagated, if not directly by himself. Upon his death, she wrote '*Elle et Lui*.' The Vicomte de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul has published a fragment which, if only completed as it was begun during her life in Venice, had well replaced '*Elle et Lui*.' The letters of Buloz show that, under his guidance as editor of the '*Revue des Deux Mondes*' and friend of the two poets, she suppressed the one serious reproach she brought against herself. Paul de Musset replied in the bitter pamphlet-novel of '*Lui et Elle*.' In the preface to '*Jean de la Roche*' she proudly declared that Alfred de Musset himself should defend her, thus offering the veiled promise to publish the letters.

Of the interesting and complicated fortunes of this correspondence, till its joint appearance quite recently, it were too long to tell. Upon her own death, Paul de Musset both laboured, in the biography of his brother, to deny the extent of her influence upon him, and virulently denounced it. He sought to confirm the grave accusations brought forward in '*Lui et Elle*' by two documents dictated to him by his brother. That Alfred de Musset should have morbidly cherished a growing suspicion and bitterness agrees with his character; but these documents, at least, do not bear the mark of his style. Towards the end of the century it became known in France that Dr Pagello was still alive in Venice, had said somewhat in the matter, and could say more. He was plied with visits and enquiries. His family, after his death, produced a diary or diaries. Once on a time it was the war of Gluckists and Piccinists; now it became

that of 'Sandists' and 'Mussetists,' as they labelled each other. The decisive victory was won and denied again and again. If only the letters were published! What need of publication at all? And everyone seemed to have access to them, if only he would take a side.

There was irony in the reception of the fragments offered. As often, the larger knowledge did but intensify the dispute. Some welcomed attack and defence alike; decision in any way would mitigate the interest of it all. Mme Arvède Barine, in the life of Musset, alone remained impartial without levity. In the volumes of M. Maurras and M. Mariéton there is much show, indeed, of an unbiased representation of facts. But it is only the show. It pleases M. Maurras to displease the partisans of either. But his method, as he maintains, is that of reflection and reverie, 'the two muses of history which no archives replace.' He allows the drama to play itself on the stage of his imagination, and reports the result, which is a renewal and aggravation of the charges made by Paul de Musset. And M. Mariéton, claiming to hold a court of enquiry, approves himself a hanging judge. He inflicts the utmost penalty upon all and sundry. In his protest against Romantic love he would almost seem to regret that he cannot summon love itself, in whatever form, for condemnation. Or rather, he would join with M. Maurras in considering Romantic love as an importation from the foreigner, English and German; as a ridiculous malady, yet most pernicious to the neo-Latin and classic race of the French. It is high time to break the spell of a love-adventure which has beguiled three generations.

But MM. Maurras and Mariéton break down the open door. It is as if they chose to forget that George Sand and Alfred de Musset had forestalled them. Musset, in the 'Confession,' roundly denounced himself and his generation. George Sand, in 'Elle et Lui,' proposed to represent an historical phase of passion, with its implicit warning. The 'Confession' and the 'Nuits,' it is true, offer poison and antidote so mingled that, in the heady draught, the poison may possibly prevail with such as are not immune. And youth will hardly go out of its way to search for the wise counsel of George Sand in her 'Lettres à Marcie' and the six volumes of the 'Correspondance.' That is the perennial difficulty with regard to the litera-

ture of passion. Tragedy itself may promote imitation rather than pity, while its warnings sleep in the dull ear. And yet to banish poets from the State, as Plato desired, would be an ill service to humanity and morals.

At all events, there is an end to the legendary charge that George Sand, in Venice, threatened Musset with the mad-house. And the charge of 'unfaithfulness' must be withdrawn. In Genoa and Florence, Musset had already returned to his dissolute courses. Sincerity of confession, tender suing for pardon, wearies when there is no amendment. Double in his personality, Cœlio and Octave by turns, it was the part of the demon rather than of the spirit of love and light which he had been playing. He had lavished the ill speech of nervous irritation, neglected her when she lay ill of malaria, declared the cessation of his love. She was free; their sole bond was that of comradeship. Presently he was like to die. George Sand, barely convalescent, brought him safely through his fever and delirium, with the aid of Dr Pagello. If she turned to Pagello for consolation, or allowed him to offer it, that was the irreparable fault she deplored. She exhausts all possible reprobation of the fault. But, from first to last, she indignantly denied that there was any spectacle of a new love offered to the eyes of a dying man. That was the one charge that stung. Her letters, and those of Musset, were to prove her guiltless of such an offence. But the thoroughgoing partisan is superior to proof. The 'Mussetists,' with the exception of M. Clouard, still cling to the charge, and rely for confirmation upon the strange page, entitled 'In Morea,' brought forward by Pagello. The 'Sandists' scornfully reject its authenticity. But there seems no need for dispute. One night Musset sleeps in quiet; Pagello reads a volume of Hugo; George Sand takes a sheet of paper and writes with furious haste. She hands the sheets to Pagello. Is it the beginning of a novel, or a confession? Next day, upon his question, she takes back the sheets to endorse them: 'To the stupid Pagello.' It is a love-challenge, much of the kind that might be made under the licence of a mask at a carnival-ball, should the challenger be capable of the highest Romantic floridness, fervour, and cavalier swaggering. There is nothing in it to disagree with her later regret that she listened to Pagello. She does not mention her

challenge in the letters. Was it to be expected that she would, or could? It was enough that she was free, and that Musset acknowledged her freedom. It was too much that she availed herself of her freedom, to the lasting sorrow of herself and of Musset, who approved the transference of rights.

Some have seen in Dr Pagello a broad figure of comedy. But the added touch of caricature is not required. He is amiable and of no great depth, turning a copy of verses that still please the fisher-folk of Venice, self-complacent and ready to believe he had a hand in writing the '*Lettres d'un Voyageur*.' Poor and economical, he had his shrewd eye to ways and means; in Paris, whither he accompanied George Sand, he could traffic in old masters, and pursue his clinical studies. He is delighted to testify that George Sand, indefatigable in her literary work, was also 'passionately devoted to all the duties of a housekeeper,' and could wholly disarm his good father who chid him and talked of prudence. He had probably not so much as heard of Romanticism, but was eager to oblige. Adapting himself to the fervid enthusiasm of the renouncing tragicomedians, he played his assigned part with laudable zeal. A pleasant fellow after his kind; but the situation was too difficult. George Sand was in love with two men at once; or rather, believing that the one love—hers for Musset, and Musset's for her—was at an end, she took refuge in the other.

But a novel expedient was to hand. In the progress of convalescence Musset is heroic, playing in advance the part of the self-sacrificing 'Jacques.' Who is he, in his deep unworthiness, to divide lovers? He would rather bless. In a mystic hour—'Ah! that night of enthusiasm,' as she recalls it to him—he joins the hands of his preservers. Henceforth he is their adopted child. And, in the letters from Venice to Paris, it is the Romantic sublimity of this hour which haunts George Sand. Pagello has not the faults of him who is absent, and therefore she lacks the joy of suffering; her devoted strength, her maternal solicitude, is unemployed. 'Oh! why could I not have lived between you two, and made you happy, without belonging to either? I could well have lived ten years like that.' And when, dropping Pagello in Paris, she has fled to Nohant for refuge from both, she cannot

understand their vagaries. Had she not dreamed of a love for the three of them—a love of the soul?

'Is lofty, trustful love impossible?' (she asks Musset). 'Must I die without finding it? Always clutching phantoms and pursuing shadows! I am weary of it. And yet I loved him [Pagello, to wit] sincerely and seriously, that generous man, as romantic as I was. I believed him stronger than myself. I loved him like a father, and you were the child of both. And now he is turning weak, suspicious, unjust, ready to pick a quarrel on the slightest pretext.'

A good fellow, this Venetian doctor. 'Mais que diable allait-il faire dans cette galère?' He was very much in the way, even when Musset was gone. George Sand was not, as the legend runs, the cold and practical male who managed, and then wearied of managing, the feminine and ultra-sensitive Musset. Stranded in Venice, she toils to gain the means of return, the means of paying off a gambling-debt of Musset which she had taken on herself; and he in Paris, newly recovered, was announcing the recurrence of his wonted follies. But the pair, in their letters, chanted their endless hymn of love and regret. As for the trustful Pagello, she writes:

'I allow myself to be regenerated by his gentle and honest affection; for the first time in my life I love without passion.' 'Heaven made us for each other' (rejoins Musset); 'in the lofty sphere of our intelligence, like two birds of the mountain, each recognising his peer in the other, we hotly flew to the meeting that was all too much for us. . . . Ah, my sole friend, I have almost tortured you, at least in these times of late. I have made you suffer deeply; but, praise God, I have not done something worse which I might have done. Oh, my child, you love; you are fair; you wander beneath the sweetest sky in the world, resting your arm upon a man whose heart is worthy of you. Excellent young man! Tell him how much I love him, so that I can hardly restrain my tears at the thought of him.'

But, truly, Pagello was of little moment to either. It is the part of Pagello to love his Alfred and listen to the letters he sends; to recognise her silence, and 'respect it so religiously'; in short, to be quiet and good, except when an old flame of his comes to pull out half his hair, and rend his 'beautiful coat.' She would reconcile Pagello

and his Arpalice, at the request of that strenuous lady, though she fears it will be a bad service. For Pagello is 'an angel of virtue, and deserves a happier fate.'

Thus, Musset might read between the lines, and take comfort. Parted, they are vastly occupied, each striving to engross the whole fault. Parted, they are the more close to each other. Idealism, imagination, are fostered by absence. She is to think what he was before she found him, and what his life will be without her.

'You took me by the hand to set me upon the right path—I have only you. I have denied so much, blasphemed so much, I doubt everything except you. . . . However weak and miserable my love must have seemed to you, I have caught a glimpse of a new world, and that is enough.'

She has her lyrical response. She points out the mountain-path that leads to the summits.

'You are not of those who are discouraged by vain fatigue, not one to be broken by a fall. . . . Hope on; let your life be a poem as fair as those of which you have dreamed! One day you will read it with the holy joy of pride.'

These Romantic lovers! And with the alternations, the contraries, that seem a part of passion, it is after the disastrous renewal in Paris of their old relations, after the agony inflicted by his retrospective jealousy, after his dismissal of her, that George Sand touches the height of her passion, the passion of which she has so often been declared incapable. She lingers forlorn about his door, in the way of the Roman elegists, shears off her locks to send them to him, breathes out her despair in a diary that must reach his hand. It is the very malady of love.

'Ah! he is wrong—God! is it not so?—he is wrong in abandoning me now that my soul is purified, and that, for the first time, I have come to a firm determination. Is it such? I know not. It is better than that; for what do I know or care about their human reasonings and principles? I feel—that is all. I love him. This love of mine would take me to the end of the world. But no one wants it, and my flame will die out like an idle holocaust.'

But one shrinks from dwelling on this diary. It is not the flowing eloquence of the '*Lettres d'un Voyageur*'; it is the moan of the stricken deer—a matter of pathology,

of pity. And there is no need to tell of the last renewal and the speedy flight she planned and executed. A friend, expressing sympathy, took occasion to blame Musset. She protests at once; she will not have him blamed. 'There are so many things between two lovers which they alone are capable of judging'—a remark ever in season.

But our Pagello should not be dismissed without a word. To the last he must have been at a loss to understand the 'beautiful poem' in which he had collaborated—'the beautiful poem,' she writes to Musset, 'of our sacred friendship and the ideal bond that linked us three, when you forced from him in Venice the confession of his love for me, and he vowed to you to make me happy.' He was no article for exportation to Paris. But he comprehends at last that he is in the way; and he makes his dignified exit, not without a parting shot.

'Our farewell' (he writes) 'was silent; I shook her hand without being able to look at her. She seemed perplexed; I do not know whether she suffered or not; my presence embarrassed her. She was tired of this Italian who, with his simple good sense, demolished the impenetrable sublimity with which she was accustomed to veil the lassitude of her loves. I had already let her know that I had deeply sounded her heart, full of excellent qualities, but marred by many failings. This knowledge on my part could not fail to irritate her, and so I abridged my visit as much as possible. I embraced her two children, and——'

So to Venice again, and doctoring, and the long years of high respectability.

The contending figures of this tragedy—tragi-comedy it may well seem except to the sufferers, and all the more because of their sincerity and eloquence—were spared their fifth act. Death stayed its hand, though they meditated suicide again and again, though murder was menaced, and the continuance of close relations was mutual destruction. Musset pursued his ruinous course. He had gained at least his ample inspiration; his one great passion prompted his highest literature; while George Sand, after the bodily crisis which supervened upon that of the mind, returned to her labours, and strained forward to her goal of harmony. She had paid her penalty. And it is not this tale of fervid passion

with its inevitable issue which renders George Sand suspect. It is not this single case which furnishes the ready means of detraction or enmity, which embarrasses sympathy and admiration. Idealism is the dominant note of her character and work. But Mrs Browning, for instance, in her two sonnets, finds the need to mingle reproach with her glowing tribute to the high representative of woman. It is in the very name of idealism that protest is made against the succession of her experiments in love. The single stumble, the momentary aberration—and who should be rigorous to mark what is amiss? But these repetitions; the bead-roll of lovers! Illusion, and speedy disillusion; that is comprehensible once. Was experience to teach her nothing?

‘I care little about growing old, much about growing old alone; but I have not met the being whom I could have loved, or, if I have met him, I did not know how to keep him.’

Her ideal claim was not only excessive, it broke into contrary elements as her moods shifted. Thus, we have come to know somewhat of that Adrien de Sèze, whose name was concealed, and whose influence was but darkly suggested, in the ‘*Histoire de ma Vie*.’ That for six years of her early married life she should have found in him a man who brought comfort to her discouragement, and adhered along with her to the enthusiastic vows of renunciation they pledged, is not without its mark of the fairer idealism. The world, indeed, runs as it may; and idealism suffers its rubs and shocks. Adrien de Sèze, the grave and refined magistrate, visiting Nohant, lights upon his mystic Beatrice arranging a layette for that second child of whom there seemed no likelihood; there is a certain cooling of the correspondence, a slackening of enthusiasm on his part. He marries presently, with all due correctness; and with that an end.

Then there was François Rollinat, her life-long friend, the stoic of her lasting admiration, without a failing for her to discover and resent. No, the friend, the spiritual guide, was not enough; he must be at once friend and lover and the strong man on whom you can rest in confidence. She aspires to employ her whole nature in the service of an idea and not of a passion, in the service of truth and not in that of a man. But ‘in vain I seek a

religion; shall it be God, shall it be love, friendship, the public good? Alas! it seems to me that my soul is organised to receive all these imprints, without one effacing the rest.' Prompt to idealise, she is enraptured to discover the man of bronze in Merimée, in Michel de Bourges, even for a moment in Pagello himself; but she speedily detects their weakness, and is disconsolate again. And besides, she is charmed by weakness; alternately with the supposed strong and simple, she idealises the fragile and complicated, a Musset or a Chopin. She was sincerity itself in her intricate confession. There is no real cause to doubt that she eternally craved to devote herself, to help, to inspire. From the first, the love she bestowed was of a maternal nature; the more maternal, no doubt, as her years advanced. Legend, that readily lends to the already rich, compelled by the new documents to forgo its attribution of a Planche and a Liszt to the catalogue of those she 'mothered,' still encumbers it in her years of more than maturity with the obscurer names of a Mallefille, a Manceau. Housemates, one might consider these last—objects of her bounteous hospitality; as was Eugène Lambert, the painter of cats, who exclaimed one day at Nohant: 'Oh, by the way, I came here, ten years ago, to spend a month; I really must think of going.' Still newer documents may settle the matter, or leave it unsettled. It is sure that George Sand prolonged the quest of ideal love, sought in the individual. But it is no less sure that she attained to that ideal and unselfish love, that overflowing compassion and charity, that never-failing goodness of heart which shines like the sun upon all.

There was, in George Sand, a certain defiance of private and public opinion, dating from the time of the calumnies to which she was exposed in her girlhood, or from the still earlier time of the continuous disparagement of mother by grandmother, and of grandmother by mother, both of whom she loved. And together with that characteristic trait of hers, the decisive lapse of enthusiasm, the cold haughtiness from the moment that she could no longer believe the ideal realised, there must be taken into account her faculty of swift oblivion and pardon—pardon of others, and of herself.

Indeed, George Sand wrote the '*Histoire de ma Vie*'

with much the same design as that of Goethe in his autobiography. The personal development was to be explained by environment and heredity. It is possible to suppose that she was entering a plea for herself. The vehement temperament, the avidity of new impressions, could hardly fail in the descendant of Maurice de Saxe and of Dupin de Francueil. Here was a race that made little of the distinction between matrimonial and extra-matrimonial arrangements. The conflict of her grandmother and mother about the possession of herself was repeated in her own nature. On the one hand, there was the frivolous grisette of a mother, excitable and wholly unbalanced, vulgar and violent, the sport of her emotions and imagination, devoid of all culture from without or within, whom George Sand felt called upon to defend as a daughter, a primitive daughter of the people. And on the other, we have Mme Dupin de Francueil, inheriting Maurice de Saxe's interest in social questions, but free from his libertinage; an aristocrat who welcomed Rousseau in eighteenth-century fashion, orderly and reasonable; ultra-rational, yet given to the utopian.

For long George Sand believed in the fatality of organism, in the irresistible tyranny of temperament. Can we reform our characters? Must we not accept ourselves and others as nature has formed us? And Wladimir Karénine, the completion of whose biography is greatly to be desired, similarly considers that neither censure nor defence is necessary. Defect and quality are mutually determined; George Sand did but act in accordance with her character. But George Sand, progressing towards harmony, shaping order out of disorder, was glad to recall and quote for the example of others the victories of her will, the power that is given us to surmount ourselves, and duly draw nigher to the desired perfection. How these two points of view were to be reconciled was not her concern. Probably she would have reposed her belief in that sense of personal responsibility which abides when the philosophic determinist has had his full say.

It will be noticed that George Sand makes no confession of sensuality. Such an element may, or may not, have been present in her constitution. There is no evidence either way. What is clear is that her intense

capacity of emotion was dominated and directed by a false idealism, the Romantic Idealism of the time. Musset and George Sand, excessive in the style and matter of their love-making, were the victims of this ideal, victims as well as propagators of the contagion. They believed that the life of the artist was wholly separate from the common life. Genius was liberty, supreme in right and might. Obligation, save that of self-development to the full, concerned only the dull folk who did the ordinary work of the world. The cult of passionate enthusiasm was the 'sole law of us all,' as Sainte-Beuve wrote of his early days. Romantics and Saint-Simonians, all indeed whom George Sand met at her coming to Paris, preached love 'free and divine,' the legitimacy of instinct, the folly of restraint. They would be as gods, these artistic natures. They *were* gods, and freed from responsibility since Destiny reigned over them. Raised beyond the sphere of vulgar duties and hindrances, if two of these should perchance meet and love, it was theirs, in the plenitude of the joint divinity they arrogated, to worship themselves and each other. And in the expression of such worship they could well advance beyond those mystics who confound the spirit and the senses. Apostrophes to the Deity, the most sacred allusions, must serve for rhetorical embroidery upon occasions that, to say the least, were alien and discordant. Alfred de Musset and George Sand, the typical pair, will swing incense to each other in private and before the public. The one, meditating his 'Confession,' would raise an altar, 'even if it were with his bones,' to the beloved he had lost.

'Posterity shall repeat our names together like those of the immortal lovers indissolubly linked in memory, like Romeo and Juliet, like Héloïse and Abélard. It will be a marriage more sacred than such as priests can make, the imperishable and chaste marriage of intelligence. Future peoples will recognise in it the symbol of the sole God of their adoration.'

And George Sand anticipates him in the brilliant rhapsodies of the 'Lettres d'un Voyageur.' Life and love are a paroxysm. 'Happiness, happiness,' cries Musset, 'and death to follow, death along with it!'

Should they, or any of their Romantic comrades, find

cause to doubt their own divinity, the imitation of Don Juan would lead them onwards and upwards till they attained it. Don Juan, the type and model of the French Romantics, as of their German contemporaries who sought to amalgamate him with Faust, was transformed by them into the hero who strenuously pursues the quest of the ideal, regardless of disillusion; who ever seeks the one in the many, after another sort than the Greek philosophers of old. George Sand, for instance, could amplify—amplification was an especial trait of Romance—a favourite theme of Alfred de Musset.

‘Love is a temple’ (she writes to him during their rupture) ‘built by the lover to an object more or less worthy of his cult; and what is fair within the temple is not so much the God as the altar. Why fear the risk? Let the idol long stand, or soon be broken, you will none the less have built your fair temple. . . . The God of your worship will be changed perchance, but the temple will last. It will be a place of sublime refuge, in which to lave anew your heart in the eternal flame; and your heart will be rich enough, powerful enough to renew the divinity should it abandon its pedestal. Do you believe that a love or two is sufficient to exhaust and blight a strong soul? I thought so, too, for a long time, but now I know it is quite the opposite. It is a fire which ever tends to mount upward and purify itself.’

And therewith she bids him mount, aspire. Again, he is to watch over his heart, in the various loves that await him. Let him so live in nobleness that ‘one day you can look backwards and say as I shall do: “I have suffered often, and have sometimes been mistaken, but I have loved; it is I who have loved, and not a being of mere fancy created by my pride and weariness.”’ Which phrase could bodily be transferred, as we know, to one of his plays. No wonder that the adversaries of ‘feminism’ should rage anew against George Sand.

Such was the chosen course of the artist in the Romantic epoch. As for George Sand, sound and reasonable in the tendency of her nature, she presently ceased to be a victim of literature. She grew sceptical of the lyrical life, and could even purpose a sacrifice of all art to socialism. Not that, in her reaction, she did not protest against herself. She knew that man does not live by bread alone. Presently, with Liszt and Lamén-

nais, she required the artist to be prophet and priest, the *vates*; which he may not be unless his own life is stainless. In the letters of her last years to Flaubert, it is upon the difficulties and dangers of the artist, upon his duties rather than his privileges, that she dwells. Forcibly given to self-analysis, he has at once to guard and to devote himself; a being of impulse and sentiment, he must learn self-oblivion, learn to doubt his own infallibility. As for the dream of power, of development in all directions, that was as absurd as it was impossible. Nature had taken care to assign limitations. 'Don Juan wrote no poems, or bad ones; and Byron, a poet, made love, they say, in poor style.'

It is this same excess of individualism, the boundless pretension with the sorry performance, now as under Louis Philippe and during the Third Empire, against which M. Mariéton and M. Maurras inveigh, using George Sand as the 'vile body' for experiment, and triumphantly demonstrating the folly and peril of the New Romanticism by the example of the Old. Like so many Frenchmen of good purpose, they fear the ravages of Individualism, and would utter their warning. In the crusade against the dread enemy of many names, they seize upon and mangle George Sand, whom rather they should have put forward as their spokesman, if there is aught in eloquent conviction, or if those best know the disease who have suffered from it. Terms and labels have changed with the times. For artist, for the rights of genius and passion, we now read Intellectualism, Amoralism, the Will of Power, and the like. But it is still the same selfish craving for the inordinate. And this claim to transcend due limits, whether it be the claim of the heart in the Romantic period, or the claim of the head nowadays, frustrates itself inevitably. The flight into the empyrean will, as ever, be followed by the plunge into the mire. Even the change from the sentiment to the reason and will is a doubtful gain. Is it progress, or reversion? The tragic imitation, in little, of a Napoleon were equally disastrous.

There is yet another charge recently brought against her. It is surely possible for a mother, who is not a George Sand, to have a brilliant, erratic and unfortunate

daughter. If the daughter of George Sand repeats the experience of an unhappy marriage, struggling with a faulty husband for the possession of a child and subsequently emancipating herself, the blame is sure to be laid upon the mother. But what of Maurice Sand, orderly throughout his life? Their mutual devotion is admitted; they were at one in sympathies and interests. Writing to Flaubert a few years before her death, George Sand claims that the common humanity of the two sexes rather than their differences should be considered; and she cites her children as a case.

'I have watched the childhood and development of my son and daughter. My son was myself, consequently much more of a woman than my daughter, who was a man, but no very successful example.'

Of this daughter, Solange, little was remembered beyond the fact that she married Clésinger the sculptor, and wrote two novels, marked by a certain vivacity and a turn for epigrammatic wit. M. Rocheblave, as devout in his admiration of George Sand as are M. Spoelberch de Lovenjoul and M. Plauchut, has published a volume of letters, with the necessary framework. The continuous anxiety, the patient attempt towards moral education, the invincible affection of George Sand, are patent. Her lavish generosity in monetary matters could never have been doubted. The misunderstanding as to the circumstances of the marriage, which has passed from Chopin to his biographers, is corrected.

The character of Solange was baffling. She rebelled against all discipline, and was incapable of perseverance. Her nature never attained harmony. A mass of contrary qualities, and able to analyse her own incoherence, she was at a loss with regard to her own conduct, and beyond the never-failing aid and counsel of her mother. From the first she lacked that bounteous goodness of heart, the resolute will and heroic acceptance of toil, which were so conspicuous in George Sand. Impulse, the passion of the head and not of the heart, followed promptly by *ennui*; the craving and contempt for social excitement; the wit that springs from a spontaneous and merciless scepticism—in all these she was widely removed from her mother, and a cause of dismay. George Sand,

so skilful in the disentanglement of problematic characters, could only write to her : ' Here is one whom I have brought into the world, suckled, adored, spoiled, scolded, punished, pardoned ; and with all that I do not know her in the least.'

It could hardly be otherwise ; Solange was incoherent. George Sand foresees the consequences of her daughter's marriage ; there could be no lasting agreement between Solange and the man she had so lightly chosen. But the marriage was forced by the headstrong girl ; and her mother had to put the best face she could upon the matter. Presently, there is bitter despair ; and the whirl of fugitive purposes is resumed. Solange would take refuge in the fold of the Roman Church, but she judges herself incapable of submission. In default of this, she would daze herself with social noise and dissipation. No, she is weary of that, and would turn author ; but the effort and the result are speedily disliked. ' At bottom, now I think of it, I find that suicide is my sole religion.' She would be unhappy were not this last resource at her disposal ; for is life good for anything ? ' Duty ? one of those lofty words which are empty of meaning ;—virtue ? a famous cheat, etc.' The ' etc.' is characteristic ; the effort needed to express her disdain in full is not worth the while. George Sand hoped against hope. Caprice, unreasonableness, might prove to be no more than the first disorderly manifestations of future force and unity. She was entirely convinced, and did not fail to teach her daughter that the possibility of self-amendment and victorious progress is within the reach of everyone. When Solange announces her conversion, such as it is, she receives no word of reproach for the abandonment of that vague Christianity, that Christian Deism, in which she had been nurtured. Solange has but to make a sign that she is weary of self-will, and would avail herself of those resources which her mother used against all trouble—the strenuous application to chosen and necessary tasks, the study of some branch of natural science. But ' one never knows anything certain where you are concerned ; and to advise you is the most impossible and useless thing in the world.'

At length the time came when George Sand found it better not to know what was the real life of her daughter ;

otherwise, she would be compelled to judge and reproach continuously, and in vain. 'We look on life from such different points of view that, from your earliest childhood, the part I have had to play is that of powerlessness.' But, even in reproach, the great maternal heart of George Sand is not wanting to itself; and, moreover, the two were linked together by the loss of their little daughter and granddaughter. Solange had revived the eighteenth century in some sort by establishing a *salon* in which to exercise her wit and coquetry amid the company of literary men and politicians; *that*, if anything, was her ideal. She might come to Nohant when asked, or when she would, if she cared for restful behaviour. Such intervals of calm were a relief to herself and to her mother, freed from anxiety for the time being. But even in such intervals Solange must have been difficult. And it is not without a touch of irony that she should be successful in speculative building on the Riviera; and that, establishing herself at last within reach of her mother in Berry, she should have been further away, if possible, than when she was at Cannes or Turin.

Solange, during one of her short-lived projects of literary fame, encountered Sainte-Beuve, who showed her much courtesy and offered his aid. The page in which she describes him and his household is a pretty piece of witty and unsparing observation. Generous and single-minded in friendships, George Sand passes over the malice, to welcome the news. Her daughter could find no better guide in the practice of literature, or of anything. She is reminded of the time when he used to visit her, bringing calm and comfort that lasted for days. She hopes he will have as much influence over Solange's life as he had had over her own upon several occasions. Sainte-Beuve, indeed, had been her spiritual director, her lay confessor in the early days of her fame, taking the place of Adrien de Sèze until, in turn, he was superseded by Lamennais, and Lamennais by Leroux. He had also mediated, as far as might be, between her and Musset, in the dread season before the decisive rupture.

It is almost pleasant to turn away from the Sainte-Beuve whose lately divulged '*Livre d'Amour*' and relations with Mme Victor Hugo are a problem beyond

ready or final settlement, to the Sainte-Beuve of the same date to whom the letters of George Sand, now brought together, are addressed. He comes out of the matter so well, in comparison. The legend which made of him a sort of Pandar is exploded. It was not a case of his furnishing her with a Prosper Merimée, to be discarded in cavalier fashion—'you lent him to me, and you can have him back.' Her own account is as follows. In the days of blank disillusion and bitter despair, she says,

'I met with a man who was sure of everything, a man calm and strong, who understood nothing of my nature and laughed at my sorrows. The power of his mind wholly fascinated me; for a week I believed he possessed the secret of happiness, that he would reveal it to me, that his scornful indifference would cure me of my childish susceptibility. I believed he had suffered like myself, and had overcome his outward sensibility. . . . The experiment failed entirely. I wept for pain, disgust, discouragement. Instead of finding an affection capable of compassion and solace, I found nothing but bitter and frivolous sarcasm. . . . Had he understood me, he would perchance have loved me; and if he had loved me, he would have subdued me; and if I had been able to allow myself to be subdued by a man, I should have been saved, for liberty wastes and consumes me utterly.'

But Sainte-Beuve is of the angels, she knows, and will hold out a helping hand. Her complaints must have afflicted, or even irritated him; but he is the sole friend to whom she can appeal.

Presently—Donna Juana, indeed,—she announces that she has given herself to Alfred de Musset, 'rather out of friendship than love,' and is in the fairest way to be consoled, 'regenerated.' But none the less she continues her appeal. She is busy, and must consult him about the book she is writing.

'You are moral, my friend; but am I moral also, or not? I know not which. I believe that to hope is to be moral; but I lack hope; I have blasphemed against nature and God, perchance, in "*Lélia*"; God, who is not ill-disposed towards us, and has no care to take vengeance upon us, has sealed my lips by restoring my youth of heart and by forcing me to confess that He has set the fount of sublime joys within us. But human society—that is a different matter; I believe it wholly corrupt, I find it odious; and I shall never write any-

thing but books which people will call bad and dangerous, and which will be so, mayhap. What, then, am I to do?’

When the final break with Musset has been made, the appeal for aid, the self-accusation, are renewed. She bitterly regrets the confidence she has reposed in herself.

‘I see, indeed, that all the wrong I have suffered and done is due to the absorbing pride which has ruined me. Everything in outward circumstance challenged me to the life of presumptuous heedlessness and brazen heroism. But I failed to reckon with human weakness, which was sure to make every step forward a losing of ground. Living solely for and at the risk of self, I have always exposed and sacrificed myself as a thing that was free, useless to others, independent, to the degree of self-destruction for the mere pleasure of it or from indifference to all else. Accursed be the men and the books whose sophistry furthered me in such a course.’

As for love, the dream of a tender and durable love, she will use all her energy in endeavouring not to realise it; and as for the other love, the blind and violent, she would neither inspire nor feel it. Both are sweet and precious; but she is too old for either. She makes bold to prophesy that, although she cannot affirm durability of her disposition in general, she is sure that faith and hope and all desire of love is at an end with her.

So she had said before, and so she will say again. For Michel de Bourges awaits her in the near future, the new Robespierre, the forcible-feeble tribune of whom she made an idol in her days of political strife; an idol whose feet of clay she surmised upon their first acquaintance, and came later to detect all too well, after her wont. But meanwhile, in all sincerity, she implores Sainte-Beuve to reveal to her the secret of his serenity. Perchance he has found it in the Christian religion.

‘But how might one enter the temple? Every time I pass by the gate, I kneel before that divine poetry, seen afar off; but, if I draw nigh, I no longer see what I believed was to be found there, and there only. I could wish to find my God wholly in His majesty and glory, and bow myself down before Him, and have no other being of my kind about me to say, “’Tis He,” for then I should doubt. Ah! how happy you are! What crime have I committed that I should be thus condemned to the part of the Wandering Jew? You say that

you suffer, and know how to suffer. What! I know it as well as you. I could be sure your griefs would seem to me far lighter than to yourself, if only I had that which you have in the way of consolation; if only I could centre my thoughts once, a single moment each day, and declare in adoration: "Behold! this, for me, is beyond all doubting."

But then, he—Sainte-Beuve—has made for himself a noble existence; he has led the better life, not wasted his heart as she has wasted it. Yet love, love! Whereupon she chants palinodes in honour of the dread god; revokes the palinodes; cares but to creep away to her own countryside, and die as soon as may be. And Sainte-Beuve was but curious about religion at the time, he informs us in later years. A lay-priest, in the idealising and enthusiastic belief of George Sand, he could straightway break the seal of confession, and court the applause we can imagine by suave rehearsal of these letters before *Mme Récamier* and her circle.

A few years later, and the two correspondents have almost exchanged their parts. After 1838, after her thirty-fourth year, George Sand is well on her way to that personal calm, that disinterestedness which compels respect or admiration. It has become her turn to offer comfort and counsel. The occasions of greeting are not frequent; there is not the deep maternal affection which is the undertone, later, of the letters to Flaubert; she realises that Sainte-Beuve is wholly committed to his desolate mistrust of God and man, whereas Flaubert, for all his loudly vociferated pessimism, is young and not beyond hope—at least she loves to think it. But in both series of letters there is the same gentle remonstrance, the same charming self-depreciation, the same deft eagerness to impart of that brave confidence which has come to be her own—the confidence that all is well with the world, since all tends to the final triumph of whatsoever is fair and truly to be desired.

She recalls to him the time when, doubting everything, she was unhappy in the extreme, and wrote letters as absurd as herself. The same interests and needs and desires move her now as then, she assures him; only she is no longer broken by the sense that her ideals are impossible. And if, after the political disasters of 1848, she has learnt to recognise that social regeneration is

not to be achieved forthwith by the preaching of theories and the practice of political revolutions, if she is no longer exposed to his censure of such activity, she would have him know that her hopes, her impassioned enthusiasm as to the future of mankind, abide with her. She takes every opportunity to renew her generous gratitude for the aid he sought to lend her when, in her time of storm, he counselled the philosophic and objective calm of contemplation. She would lightly administer balm for the wounds he conceals, but whose existence she is swift to divine. He sends her his 'Chateaubriand'; and she lays her touch upon the subtle malice and grudging of the book only to heal it, if so might be. Is it altogether true, she asks, that genius, that poetry, is developed at the expense of the heart? She would rather believe that the two are fully compatible.

Sainte-Beuve prefers writers of the second rank. Well, let us all be such writers and keep our hearts and friends, if the men of the first rank are condemned to love nothing but themselves. To quit all thought of self, that is the secret. But Sainte-Beuve, surely, is not justified in preferring the second-rate, the men of cool judgment, to the impassioned and enthusiastic. For is he not himself, she adroitly puts it, the author of 'Volupté' as well as of the 'Causeries,' and therefore belonging to the family of the eloquent, the men of the first rank, like Chateaubriand? As for herself, life may lead her where it lists. 'I traverse serene regions and render thanks to God for allowing me to enter therein; but how that has come about I know not. Perhaps it was because I meant well: "pax hominibus bonae voluntatis." Once on a day he could be, and was, described as 'haunted by the thought of the divine.' Should he not be so still? 'A little sceptical,' has he grown all too calm, too sedate and satisfied in his wisdom? Her own trust in the goodness of things—was it not he who once sought to inspire it in her? who once brought her peace? He, her old master, should not smile at her confidence and reproach her for being still impassioned, for being sincere and disinterested, for knowing how to believe. He has lost his belief, she fears; is somewhat discontented with human things. But there remains the divine. Were it not well even now to be haunted,

troubled, as to things eternal? The prince of critics, with his unwearied curiosity, cannot surely hold that this life of ours is enough to satisfy. He with his books, as she with her botany—they cannot but find that the least detail yields an opening to the dream of infinity. Two mere lines of lamp-posts, as it were, stretching parallel without an end, he might say. Well, then, since there was no end to the vista, he cannot maintain there is nothing at the end of it all.

'*Quisque suos patimur manes.*' Sainte-Beuve cherished more and more the chill serenity of acceptance, the grim creed that whatever is good is too good to be true. Sainte-Beuve had never been stirred to the depths, like George Sand, by the spectacle of social misery and the exploitation of man by man. They had both outlived their Romantic period. They had ceased to reflect upon their own single destinies. They no longer believed themselves Renés and Obermanns, dowered with unrealisable aspirations whose exquisite pain was beyond the comprehension of the vulgar. But, upon that, their ways parted. An Epicurean, Sainte-Beuve sheltered himself from the concerns of others; George Sand chose public activity, almost thinking to frame the social world anew with but the briefest delay. Not that she was a politician, save in an episode. From the first, as the '*Lettres d'un Voyageur*' show, she saw and declared that the best, the sole possible reform, is for each, and every reformer, to begin by self-reformation, by taming his selfishness, by striving towards perfection. But she never saw that liberty and equality, both desirable, are unapt to be reconciled, if not even incompatible. In all probability it was her very love and fervid desire of fraternity that blinded her to the difficulty. She was not a thinker, this notable child of Rousseau. Benevolent optimism stood to her for philosophical and sociological ideas. As she wrote in her age to Flaubert:

'Do not laugh at my principles, the principles of a candid child which are still mine through everything, through "*Lélia*" and the Romantic epoch, through love and doubt, enthusiasm and disenchantment. To love, to sacrifice oneself, only to claim oneself again when the sacrifice is harmful to those who are the object of it, and still to sacrifice oneself in the hope of serving a true cause—love. Not that I mean the

personal passion, but rather the love of the race, the extended sentiment of self, the horror of self by itself. And as for that ideal of justice you mention, I have never seen it separate from love, since the first law for a natural society to subsist is that of mutual service, as with the bees and ants. This help of all towards the same end may be termed instinct in the lower races—the term matters little; but, in man, instinct is love; and he who withdraws himself from love withdraws himself from truth, from justice.'

George Sand was not a politician, not a thinker, but none the less, in her eloquence and passion, a true civiliser; though Sainte-Beuve, as we have seen, would reserve the title to his secondary writers, to his men of the cool judgment. All that is great civilises, as Goethe pointed out. And Plato knew that ideals are not a whit the less valuable because we are unable to demonstrate the possibility of their speedy realisation. A great force of heart employed in the service of the widest social ideals—that is the value of George Sand's work in the sphere of politics. The means to the desired end are open to criticism. She achieved more by the charm of her pastorals, by the indirect presentation of the problem, than by that forced linking of romance and theoretic aim which had marred the social novels she wrote before 1848. And after the catastrophe, and the proclamation of the Empire, the fiery ardour of George Sand might change its form, but was not in any way diminished. A republican in theory, she could for a time believe Napoleon III to be the defender of the rights of the people against the contending parties. That government was acceptable which advanced the cause of the many and of the general good; all government was only too liable to partisan self-seeking and domination. Her socialism, in the end, was that of St John, fully expressed in a single phrase: 'Little children, love one another.' Her love of the poor and oppressed was no longer accompanied by its twin-sister hatred, swift to misjudge men and careless to comprehend the difficulty of questions. It became charity, all-embracing, resting upon the largest hope for the commonweal. Her maternity grew world-wide. She achieved within herself the harmony of her ideals.

Nor did she labour without effect. She passed, and still may pass, the torch of idealism to others. It is

admitted, for instance, that Tourgueniev's 'Memoirs of a Sportsman' largely contributed to the emancipation of the serf in Russia; and Tourgueniev never failed to acknowledge his debt to the social teaching of George Sand, and his warm admiration of her personality.

'I have had the happiness' (he wrote to a friend) 'of making the personal acquaintance of George Sand. But do not take my words for an empty phrase; he who has been able closely to inspect this distinguished being must really count himself happy. . . . At the time I had already ceased to adore her, but it was impossible to penetrate further into her private life without becoming her adorer again, in another and a better sense. Seeing her, anyone felt immediately that he was in the presence of a nature profoundly generous and benevolent, in which all egoism had long since consumed itself in the inextinguishable flame of poetical enthusiasm and her faith in the ideal; of a nature to which every human interest was accessible, dear, and from which there emanated help and sympathy. . . . And beyond all that, as it were, the unconsciousness of a crowning halo about her, something lofty, free, heroic.'

A fiery and generous heart spent in the service of idealism—that is the explanation of George Sand. No other is needed. In the lyrical pages of 'Aldo le Rimeur,' she was the youthful poet, sensitive and impressionable, stricken because, in a world of prose, the yearning hope of love and harmony meets with no response save scoffing and denial. But she was not one to 'dream away the entrusted hours, pampering the coward heart with feelings all too delicate for use.' She had pity upon mankind. The pain of the world stung her; she could not away with the misery and crime that abounded. The defect and shame were felt to be solidary; she had no care to conceive her own welfare apart from that of all. Weary of herself, of men, of all things, she had traversed the regions of doubt. But

'one fine day I said to myself, "What does it matter! The world is great and fair. All we believe so important is not worth thinking about. In life there are only two or three true and serious things, and these things, so clear and easy, are precisely those I ignored and scorned. *Mea culpa!* but I have been punished for my stupidity; I have suffered as

much as one can suffer; pardon may surely be granted me. Let us make our peace with the God of goodness.'

So she wrote in her later days to Dumas *fils*, consoling him in his hour of gloom. She was ever ready to console, in her letters, as in her novels; not only bending the shows of things to the desires of the mind, but claiming in her copious and limpid eloquence that the world of fact should and could be shaped to the fairer dream. Herself and her performance she held in the slightest esteem. She cared little for what she had written. She never had the leisure, as she sighed for a moment, to please herself, to shape that masterpiece which is lacking, which is diffused the rather through her hundred volumes. 'I know nothing about anything, except to love and believe in an ideal.' She could be content if it was given her to win over a few contemporaries to share her own ideal of gentleness and deservy with her the poetry of common folk and things. Yet it is becoming more and more recognised that she and Balzac, loyal admirers of each other, raised the French novel to its height. The kingdom, indeed, is to the forceful; and literature is measured by intensity. He who is haunted by the vision of evil, and can sound the dread capacities of human nature, will necessarily overshadow his fellow of the hopeful and trusting heart. But George Sand does not lack her force and intensity; it was she, and not Balzac, who stirred the problems of Ibsen and Tolstoy in advance, urging the freedom of woman to be noble, and the social reparation that springs from the sense of fraternity. She was the *Æolian* lyre of her times, it has been said; the echo of the century in its most generous aspirations. The widest love and faith and hope were her portion. She lived by admiration, and looked to the triumph of the good, the fair, the true. Able to console and inspire, she well may continue to propagate the sense of the divine within us. And it were ungrateful to look narrowly upon her shortcomings.

Art. 3.—FIJI AS A CROWN COLONY. ✓

1. *The Broad Stone of Empire*. By Sir Charles Bruce. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1910.
2. *Narrative . . . of a Voyage in the South Seas*. By Captain Peter Dillon. Two vols. London: Hurst, 1829.
3. *Voyage da la Corvette l'Astrolabe pendant les Années 1826-9*. Five vols. By J. Dumont d'Urville. Paris: Tastu, 1830.
4. *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Seas*. By Rev. John Williams. London: Snow, 1837.
5. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition . . . 1838-42*. Five vols and Atlas. By Commander Charles Wilkes, U.S. Navy. Philadelphia: Wiley, 1845.
6. *Life in Feejee: by a Lady* [Mrs M. D. Wallis]. Boston, U.S.A.: Heath, 1851.
7. *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific*. By Admiral J. E. Erskine. London: Murray, 1853.
8. *The King and People of Fiji*. By Rev. Joseph Waterhouse. London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1866.

SIR CHARLES BRUCE, in two bulky volumes entitled, 'The Broad Stone of Empire,' has not only poured out to the general reader his personal experiences during the many years in which he was engaged in the administration of various tropical Crown Colonies, but in so doing has placed at the disposal of the student of our colonial system a great mass of material from which a most useful handbook of Crown Colony government might be drawn up. As he says, these colonies are mostly, though not entirely, tropical; and their value to the Empire rests largely on the fact that their tropical products are subsidiary to the products and necessary to the industry of the more temperate portions of the Empire. He lays due stress on the fact that, as all experience shows, labour in tropical regions must be controlled by Europeans, but must, at any rate to a large extent, be done by natives. Consequently, one of the chief duties of the Imperial Government, and more especially of the Colonial Office, is properly to control the relations of white men and natives in the tropical Crown Colonies.

The methods of the Colonial Office in solving these and other problems of colonial government are authoritatively discussed, and the author's judgment is, on the whole, favourable; but he strongly advises steps by which the Colonial Office might obtain more intimate and fresher knowledge of the current affairs of those Colonies which it somewhat laboriously administers. He describes also the evolution of the modern Colonial Governor, and defines the principles on which a Governor should administer his charge. Trusting largely to his own great experience, Sir Charles deals in masterly fashion with the problems of education, in its widest sense, with the transportation of labour from places where it is not needed to places which can only be developed by some such method, with mail services and other means of communication, with defence duly organised from the centre of the Empire, etc.; and he treats all these subjects from the position of one minutely considering the development of the Crown Colonies as a really important and integral part of the Empire.

The questions raised or suggested by this valuable work are so many and various that a lengthy treatise might be devoted to their examination. I propose to attempt the much shorter task of sketching a typical British Crown Colony of the present day, so as to afford some idea of the origin and status of such a colony and of its relation to the Empire as a whole. In illustration of this theme it is intended to utilise chiefly, but not entirely, the history of one particular Crown Colony—that which is growing up in the Pacific Islands now under British influence.

So much has recently been heard of the self-governing Colonies, i.e. the great 'Dominions,' that the very existence of the smaller and necessarily less self-assertive Crown Colonies seems in danger of being somewhat overlooked. It may therefore be opportune to recall to mind the fact of their existence, to indicate their importance, and briefly to consider their origin and their probable future as more or less self-governing portions of the British Empire. After all, the Dominions themselves are but aggregations of units which were once Crown Colonies, but have been differentiated by the

acquisition of practically complete powers of self-government and almost of independence.

The evolution of all the component parts of the British Empire—whether these are at this moment merely under British influence or are Protectorates, Crown Colonies, or Dominions—has proceeded on essentially similar lines, although the diversities of local circumstance have induced differences of detail in their development. The successive stages through which each such area, sooner or later, passes are (1) discovery, which may have taken place in the remote past; (2) sporadic settlement by individuals of European origin; (3) growth and gradual preponderance of British influence; (4) establishment of settled control—almost necessarily at first in the form of Crown Colony government; (5) transition—also gradual and generally slow—from control exercised from England, as in a Crown Colony, to almost complete local responsibility; and finally (6) the assumption of practical autonomy, either by the single Colony or, if geographical and other conditions are favourable, by a federation of several such Colonies.

It seems desirable for the purpose of this article to begin by defining accurately the nature of Crown Colony Government as distinguishable from the earlier and later stages in the growth of our Colonial Empire. The distinguishing mark of a Crown Colony is that not only the Governor but all the officials, at any rate all those of any considerable importance, are appointed—if, indeed, not sent out—by the King's Home Government, so that, through the Governor, the ultimate administrative control rests with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. It is true that generally, if not always, in a Crown Colony a limited degree of responsibility in the conduct of local affairs is entrusted to the local residents. This is effected by requiring, for the assistance of the Governor, the services of a few unofficial colonists, either with purely advisory functions or with a limited amount of effective power. But these unofficial persons, at any rate in the earlier stages of the development of the Crown Colony, are nominated by the Governor, the nominations being subject to subsequent confirmation by the Secretary of State; and if, at a later stage, any members are elected by the colonists, such members

are numerically, or by reason of some other provision, weaker than their nominated colleagues. Thus the ultimate allowance or veto of all government actions rests with the Governor, as representative of the King. It follows that, whenever the Secretary of State's ultimate control of the affairs of the Colony, exercised usually through the Governor, is obliterated—which can only happen when the Government officials are appointed by and subject to the locally elected representatives of the people—the status of a Crown Colony passes at once into that of a self-governing colony.

Fifty-three distinct 'colonies,' in each of which British government has been or is being evolved, are enumerated in the 'Colonial Office List' for 1911; but many of these have already been crystallised into so-called 'Dominions.' Of those which have passed through this process there is no need to speak here. The Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Union of South Africa—three great confederations—with Newfoundland and New Zealand, form a separate group of governments practically autonomous but closely connected by ties of kinship and interest with the mother-country.

In those parts of the African continent which lie outside of South Africa many British Crown Colonies and Protectorates remain unfederated, and must long remain so, because they are widely scattered and separated from each other by the intervening possessions of the other great European Powers. The various small island colonies in the West Indian seas, with British Guiana and British Honduras on the mainland of America, have not yet advanced perceptibly along the road which leads to self-government and federation, because the area of each of these separate colonies is too small, and the seas which separate them are too wide, to admit at present of combined action and administrative union. Reasons similar to those just given make against the complete development of self-government in the scattered so-called 'Eastern Colonies' (Ceylon, Hong Kong and Wei-hai-wei, Mauritius and Seychelles, the Straits Settlements, and the Federated Malay States), and in the very remote little colony of the Falkland Islands. The British colonies in the Mediterranean—Gibraltar, Malta, and Cyprus—are, it need hardly be said, military posts rather

than colonies, and resemble more than any other British possessions the ancient Roman *colonia*.

Whatever may be the present status of any of these fifty-three parts of the British Empire, all, with the possible exception of the three Mediterranean colonies, have, within a longer or shorter period, passed or are passing through the stages of growth above mentioned. Some, like British Guiana, the Cape of Good Hope, and Ceylon, were, as a whole or in part, captured by British forces long after these territories had been discovered and more or less gradually brought under settled government by subjects of other European nationalities. Generally speaking, the British right by capture has been confirmed by subsequent treaties with the other nationalities concerned. Sometimes, as in the case of British Guiana, the actual boundaries of the areas thus assumed have not been settled till many years subsequently. In Ceylon, the British took possession of the Dutch settlements and the coast-lands of the island, all of which were already under the control of the Dutch, in 1795-6, but only acquired the uplands of the interior, by conquest from the native inhabitants, in 1815. But, despite such variations in the history of these and other settlements, the sequence of stages in the development of all our colonies has been essentially the same.

We may now consider the growth of Crown Colony government in the British islands of the Southern Pacific Ocean, that vast expanse which was formerly and more picturesquely called 'the South Seas.'

Strictly speaking, of all the British islands in the South Seas, the large and compact group known collectively as Fiji alone has as yet the status of a Crown Colony; but the other groups and single islands—except a very few which are dependencies of Australia and New Zealand, e.g. Norfolk Island, Lord Howe Island, and the Cook Islands—are administered by the Governor of Fiji, and as nearly as possible as Crown Colonies. To be strictly accurate, these so-called Western Pacific Islands are, with hardly an exception but that of Ocean Island, 'protectorates,' and not as yet 'possessions' of the British Crown. Their attainment of the last-named status will probably synchronise with their union with Fiji as one

Crown Colony; and this Crown Colony will probably in some way hereafter coalesce with the great Australasian section of the British Empire.

It is impossible to dwell here on the fascinating story of the comparatively recent discovery of the Great South Sea itself, which had remained practically unknown to the Western nations till so lately as the close of the eighteenth century. It was only during the voyages of Captain Cook (1768-79) that the existence of Australia and New Zealand and of most of the islands of the Western Pacific was first clearly ascertained; and it was not 150 years ago that, as an early result of Cook's discoveries, the first establishments of white men were made in those parts—at Port Jackson, where Sydney now stands, in 1788, in the same year at Norfolk Island, and in 1803 in Van Dieman's Land. These new settlements were at first merely convict-stations; but soon, owing to agricultural advantages, they began to attract free settlers and to develop into healthy young Crown Colonies. Van Dieman's Land became Tasmania; Port Jackson became New South Wales and the mother of all the later colonies, now States, of Australia.

It was from these Australian places that British influence was destined to extend, in the nineteenth century, over the islands in the South Seas. From the establishments at Port Jackson, Norfolk Island, and Tasmania, at a very early date, and later from New Zealand, a great whale fishery was carried on in the South Seas; and from the same places British ships went to the scarcely yet known South Sea Islands for sandalwood and pearl-shell, for the 'sea-slugs' or *bêche de mer* of which the Chinese made their soup, and for many other strange natural products. Nor was it long before ships from other quarters were employed in this same island trade. The East India Company sent ships to take cargo to Australia, and to gather cargo of sandalwood and *bêche de mer* for the market in China; and United States ships, chiefly from Salem in Oregon on the western American coast, joined in the quest for these rich and strange South Sea products.

It was in this way that the islands became known to the outside world; and the human waifs and strays cast out from these trading ships were the first white

men who took up their abode in the islands. The first agents to establish some sort of perfunctory order in this South Sea Alsatia were the ships of war, chiefly those which took part in the United States exploring expedition of 1840; and these vessels also made the surveys of the island seas which, together with the still earlier surveys by Captain Cook, are still the basis of our knowledge of these waters.

The first half—or more accurately the first thirty or forty years—of the nineteenth century was the age of the 'beach-combers' in the islands of the Pacific. The beach-combers were the derelict and runaway sailors from the vessels trading among the islands; and among these were doubtless many escaped convicts who, in one way or another, had embarked on these trading ships. These refugees were cast, often probably not without their own connivance, on to the various islands, which they reached, as it were, on the crest and comb of the wave. The beach-combers somehow generally contrived to make friends with the natives of the islands, and lived among—it might almost be said upon—those islanders, doing no work but helping the natives to fight—one set against the other.

This strange mingling in those far-away islands of the dregs of the old civilisation of the Western World with the utterly different social order—one can hardly call it civilisation—which certainly existed at this time among the South Sea Islanders, naturally produced a turbulent and unstable condition. Few and very imperfect records of events during the 'beach-combers' age' are known, even as regards the Fiji Islands, which within the first half of the nineteenth century had become perhaps the most important of the Western Pacific Islands. Few eye-witnesses of what went on in Fiji, from the first arrival of white men till the missionaries came in 1837, have left any records of what they saw. The chief exceptions are as follows.

Peter Dillon, captain of an East Indiaman, in his narrative of a voyage in the South Seas, performed in 1827 and 1828 by order of the East India Company, to ascertain the fate of La Perouse's expedition, has incidentally provided us with an account of the religion, manners, customs, and cannibal practices of the

South Sea Islanders. That Dillon undoubtedly found traces and threw light on the mysterious fate of the French Admiral La Perouse is little to our present point; what interests us is that he gives much information touching the then condition of Fiji. He also gives a notable account of the great fight around a rock, called to this day 'Dillon's rock,' on the coast of Vanua Levu in the Fijis, in which, in 1816, various factions of the natives, certain beach-combers, and certain sandalwood traders, among whom was Dillon himself, took part, and at least one notorious beach-comber, Charles Savage by name, was slain and eaten.

The next important authority on Fiji in early days is the French Admiral Dumont d'Urville, who, during the course of his voyage on the corvette 'Astrolabe' in 1826-9, carried out what would now be called a 'punitive expedition' in Fiji. Still more thrilling and horrible is the authentic tale of one Jackson, which is appended to Captain (afterwards Admiral) Erskine's 'Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific including the Feejees . . . in H.M.S. "Havannah."' The actual date of Jackson's adventure, the tale of which was published by Erskine only in 1853, seems uncertain; but it must have been well within the dark ages of Fiji.

The few accounts by eye-witnesses, such as Dillon, Dumont d'Urville, and Jackson, may be supplemented by accounts recorded from hearsay by the missionaries after their arrival in Fiji in 1837, and by other visitors of the same early time. Two books by missionaries, though written and published at rather a late date, contain many records; these are 'Fiji and the Fijians' by the Rev. Thomas Williams, and 'The King and People of Fiji, containing a life of Thakombau, with notices of the Fijians, their manners, customs, and superstitions previous to the great religious reformation in 1854,' by the Rev. Joseph Waterhouse. But the best book of all is the strangely rare 'Life in Feejee; Five Years among the Cannibals. By a Lady.' The authoress, a Mrs M. D. Wallis, the wife of the captain of a vessel from Salem (Oregon) which traded among the Fiji Islands for *bêche de mer*, accompanied her husband during his trading expeditions, and collected much information useful as throwing light on the early history of Fiji.

The general result of all the available records is that the state of society which prevailed among the natives of Fiji previous to the arrival of the beach-comber was not without a certain admirable orderliness, despite the prevalence of cannibalism and 'club-law'; but that this was transformed by the influx of white desperadoes into a condition in which atrocious and inhuman cruelty was substituted for all that had been good and orderly. Two influences, of very different character, took up the task of bringing order into this state of confusion. Missionaries passed from Australia to the Pacific islands; and ships of war of the Great Powers began to sail through and about the islands, for purposes of discovery and control. These two forces, working on the whole well together, gradually and with much trouble introduced some sort of order into the island society which had been troubled by the coming of the beach-combers.

The rough preliminary work of civilising was thus being done; but it is important to note that, though there was trade, it was for some time trade in natural products only; and it was not till an article of commerce was produced artificially that opportunity for a settled government—for the formation of a Crown Colony—arose in any of the islands. It was only in the early sixties of the last century that the Civil War in the United States and the dearth of cotton thereby caused gave the Australians and New Zealanders an opportunity of establishing profitably the business of cotton-growing in one of the island groups, i.e. in Fiji; and this resulted a few years later (1874) in the establishment of Crown Colony government in Fiji.

By that time the European population in Fiji had increased considerably in numbers since the days of the beach-combers, and had advanced more than proportionately both in respectability and in wealth. It was, however, a very heterogeneous and discordant crowd. It comprised men of many nationalities, chiefly British citizens who had mostly come in by way of Australia and New Zealand, but also Americans from the United States, and many Germans. The centre of European habitation was at Levuka, on one of the smaller islands (Ovalau); but there were many European plantations widely scattered over the native-owned lands along the coasts of the

neighbouring islands. These plantations were worked—for the natives of Fiji were never very ready to work for white men—by so-called 'Polynesian' labourers, i.e. natives brought by an ill-regulated system of migration, popularly called 'blackbirding,' from the surrounding island groups, from the Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides, and from the Gilbert or Kingsmill Islands.

In this state of society the cross-divisions of interests were almost indescribably intricate. The various European nationalities were divided, each against the other, and were only united, if ever, against the Fijian natives. These Fijian natives themselves, at least those of them whose places were on the seashore—for the mountaineers dwelt in their 'devil country' apart from all other men—were much divided among themselves, each small chiefdom against the other, and all anxious to save what they could from the Europeans who had flowed into their islands. Moreover, by this time, i.e. by 1870, a great migration of other natives from the Friendly or Tongan Islands—the nearest group to the Fijis—had flowed into Fiji, and, under the leadership of Maafu, one of the great personalities of the Pacific, had firmly established themselves in what was regarded as a separate kingdom in the Windward Islands of the Fiji group; and there was an almost constant state of conflict between the Tongans in Fiji and the Fijians themselves.

To mention only one other element tending to create disquiet, no doubt involuntary on the part of its authors, in the Fiji of those days, the missionaries, chiefly Wesleyans, who had been the first respectable Europeans to settle in Fiji, and had in the intervening years gradually acquired a marvellously strong and wholesome hold over the Fijians, were divided between their desire to secure what they considered justice for their native adherents as against the Europeans and their desire to help in the establishment, in those isles of unrest, of some sort of firm rule on the European model. They were distracted, too, though in less degree, by the divergent force of another missionary body, of another nationality, which had followed them into the islands, namely the French Roman Catholics.

In circumstances such as these the pot had been seething in Fiji ever since white men first reached these

islands; and at the time now under consideration, i.e. about forty years ago, it was in danger of boiling over. As in the ebullition of an actual pot, just before it boils over, a more or less solid substance is often tossed up to the surface, so, in the turmoil of Fijian politics of forty years ago, a constitution, or rather several quasi-constitutions, of Pacific manufacture, emerged from time to time. The original of these curious constitutions seems to have been invented somewhere about the middle of the last century by some clever beach-comber in the Eastern Pacific, probably in the Sandwich Islands, and to have been more or less effectively imposed on the amenable natives of those parts. It subsequently did duty in other parts of the Pacific, and notably in the Friendly Islands, where that ablest of South Sea Islanders, George Tubou, with the aid of the Missions, created the Kingdom of Tonga. But that is another story.

An attempt was made, with varying but never complete success, by certain white settlers in Fiji, using the man who was on the whole the ablest of the Fijian chiefs as a puppet king, to introduce some such form of government into Fiji. All that can here be said of this scheme is that something like the full forms of parliamentary government and of diplomatic procedure, as practised in European countries, was attempted in these tiny, remote, and much distracted Pacific Islands. But from the first, within Fiji itself, no one, European or native, who did not happen to be in the Government would have anything to do with it. Nor were the Australians and New Zealanders, who had supplied the capital, and most of the white settlers then engaged in the cotton industry in Fiji, better pleased with it. So it came about that in 1873 all these malcontents appealed, by no means for the first time, to Her Britannic Majesty's Government to take over the islands as a Crown Colony.

The British Government, which had for some time past declined such appeals, now gave way. Mr Edgar Layard, who was at the time British Consul in Fiji, and Commodore Goodenough, who was sent for the purpose, drew up an exhaustive report on the state of local affairs; and Sir Hercules Robinson, afterwards Lord Rosmead, was sent from New South Wales, of which he was then Governor, to accept the cession to the British Crown

of the Fiji Islands from Thakombau, the so-called 'king' of the main islands, from Maafu, the Tongan who had made himself 'king' of the Windward Islands of the group, and from the other great chiefs. Thakombau personally handed over to Sir Hercules his famous war-club, the great token of the club-law which had up to that time prevailed in Fiji, to be sent to the Great White Queen, as the outward and visible sign of the handing over to Her Majesty of the people and land of Fiji. A few months later, Sir Arthur Gordon, now Lord Stanmore, arrived in Fiji, with a few young Englishmen selected by himself as his assistants, and, as first Governor, took up the arduous task of planting British Crown Colony government in the Pacific.

Sir Arthur Gordon's task in Fiji was indeed arduous; but the conditions were unusually favourable. His great experience in other colonies, his interest in native questions, and his self-reliance, were all in his favour. His family and political connexions added greatly to his strength. It was also much in his favour that in those days direct telegraphic communication with Fiji was impossible, and that even postal communications were slow and uncertain. Consequently, as the man on the spot, he had an unusually free hand, freer than would be possible in these later days, to mould his new Crown Colony in his own way.

It is impossible here to enter into the details of his work in ingeniously applying the stereotyped forms of Crown Colony government, such as prevail in other parts of the British Empire, to the somewhat peculiar conditions then existing in Fiji. It must here suffice to say that he found a society in which natives and Europeans were indeed much mixed together, but without any sort of combination between their two diverse elements; and that he invented a scheme under which the native and the European elements were to be kept separate, the one—i.e. the introduced population—under British law, the other—i.e. the indigenous native population—remaining, so far as might be possible, under their own chiefs and customs. This scheme was ingenious and may be regarded as theoretically admirable; it is even possible that it would have been practically successful, if only its inventor had been able to remain perpetually Governor

of Fiji, and if the adjacent peoples of Australia and New Zealand, with their increasing powers of self-government, had not viewed with somewhat jealous eyes a purely Crown Colony, governed from home, within what they naturally regarded as their own territorial waters.

Nor is it necessary or possible here to go into the questions of why and how the native part of the scheme partly failed in the time of Sir Arthur Gordon's successors further than to say that—as will probably be generally admitted—a colony started as a pure Crown Colony, but necessarily advancing, if it is to advance at all, towards representative and eventually responsible government, must sooner or later be administered in one way for all the inhabitants, native and European alike. Otherwise it must happen, with ever-increasing frequency, that the edicts, on the one hand, of British law and, on the other hand, of the 'Native Regulations' must clash, especially in matters concerning the inter-relations of Europeans and natives.

In the new Crown Colony of Fiji all the executive officers were necessarily the subordinates of the Governor; and even such unofficial persons as were consulted and asked for advice were appointed to advise only on the Governor's nomination. It was therefore easily possible for the Governor autocratically to maintain the special privileges of the natives, as the former owners of the soil, where these infringed in any way on the rights, under ordinary British law, of the settlers. And this artificial adjustment of rights is still to a certain extent possible, even though representative government, in strictly limited degree, has been already given to the Europeans, and nominally to the natives. But, when the inevitable development occurs, and the elective element already introduced is allowed to outweigh, and eventually entirely to replace, the official executive power exercised from Downing Street, then the natives must be displaced from their present exceptional and not altogether enviable position, and must take their place as ordinary British subjects under ordinary British law.

The question of the natives, i.e. the descendants of those who occupied Fiji before it became a Crown Colony, is a thorny one. It is difficult to adjust the

interests of these natives with those of the Europeans who have come into the land and made it what it is; and, more especially in Fiji, to do this with due regard to the susceptibilities of what appears to be the majority of Australians. These, as close neighbours of Fiji, are apt to think they know more of the South Sea Islanders than is known in Downing Street, and, because of their own local training, are still somewhat apt to take a different view of the 'native' than do the other white subjects of the Empire.

The obstacles in the way of a rapid development of representative institutions, and thereafter of self-government, in a Crown Colony are mainly two. First—but this, of course, most affects the colony in its youngest stages—is the difficulty of finding within its bounds persons sufficient in number and adequately free from the bias of self-interest to carry on the government; secondly—and this applies, or should apply, until the original natives of the colony, if such survive in the flood of Western influences, are adequately absorbed into the general community—the difficulty and possible danger of entrusting native interests to non-native residents.

Moreover, in Fiji—as is the case also in British Guiana and certain other Crown Colonies—the 'native question' is complicated by the presence there not only of the real Fijian natives, but also of a large number of members of other coloured races who have been brought in as labourers. It has been pointed out that, even before the cession of Fiji, many native labourers had been brought in under the old system of recruiting from the New Hebrides and other more or less adjacent islands. The old and ill-regulated system of 'blackbirding' was without doubt accompanied by many terrible evils and by much thoughtless cruelty; and the British nation was right in insisting on its suppression. But its evils were almost entirely due to the deficiency of adequate regulation in the interests of the imported natives. That natives should be brought from distant islands, from a state of otiose but degraded savagery, to another place where they are taught to work and made into useful men and women, useful to themselves and others—this, if done humanely and under proper control, is certainly not an evil but a good thing. It is a benefit to the

imported labourer, who is thereby transferred from an uncivilised to a civilised state of life; it is a benefit to the employer, who, except by some such means, could not get his fields cultivated; and it is not least a benefit to the State, in that only by some such means is the development of many new countries, especially tropical colonies, possible.

At the time of the cession of Fiji, and to some extent owing to this very cause, the labour question became more acute. The Fijian native had probably almost always required some more or less forcible persuasion to work for the white man; and, when he gained the liberty to abstain from work if he, or rather his community, wished, he became more than ever difficult to recruit by persuasion. Moreover, owing to causes for which the newly-established British government was not responsible, the native Fijian element was greatly reduced by disease, with the result that there were fewer left to do the work for their own communities; and this communal work was largely increased by the regularisation and enforcement of 'native taxes.' Again, the former practice of bringing in 'Polynesian' islanders could no longer be countenanced, at any rate under anything like the old 'blackbirding' methods. Lastly, about this time, cotton cultivation having again become unprofitable, the cultivation of sugar on a large scale was begun. It has ever since become increasingly prosperous; and cane-cultivation requires more labour than did cotton or any of the former products.

The newly-established government dealt energetically with this situation. The introduction of Polynesians was properly and fairly organised under a strong government department; and, as these Polynesians were more suitable for the cultivation of coco-nuts—which about this time was vigorously undertaken—than for the work, less congenial to them, on the sugar plantations, a new class of native labour was introduced from the British East Indies, under stringent and most efficient government supervision. The result on the labour supply of Fiji has been great. Two years ago—the figures of last year's census appear to be not yet available—the natives, all of course British subjects, were officially estimated as follows: of Fijians proper there were 87,390, of Poly-

nesians 3004, and of East Indians 35,406. The numbers of natives who are not British subjects is a negligible quantity. This organisation of the labour supply has been the effective cause of the advance of the colony, and more especially of its sugar industry, without which the Fiji islands would not have passed much beyond the languishing state in which they were at the time of cession. It is equally certain and gratifying that this has been accomplished with as much material benefit to the introduced labourers, 'Polynesians' and East Indians alike, as to their employers.

The fact must not be blinked that this introduction into these Pacific Islands of natives from elsewhere as labourers has been strongly reprobated by many persons, and more especially by Australian citizens who, perhaps rightly enough, would reserve Australia for white men, and who, certainly wrongly, would rather see the Pacific Islands undeveloped than worked by natives introduced from elsewhere. Now, no proposition seems more true than that in tropical regions a very large part of the manual labour done must be done by coloured labourers; and that, if for any reason the administration of a tropical region has been undertaken by white men—always provided that the area in question is not deliberately kept undeveloped, as a native sanctuary or as an ethnological specimen—it is one of the first and most important duties of that white administration to provide native labourers to develop that area, if, as is certainly the case in the South Seas, the supply of indigenous labour is insufficient, and the introduction of native labour from regions where it is not wanted is therefore essential to progress. If it be said that this is advocating indentured immigration, and that labour under indenture is an abominable thing, the reply is that not only is it not abominable, but that, if wisely and humanely managed, it is one of the highest and most praiseworthy achievements of the enlightened statesman in the realm of national economy.

Before passing from this part of the subject, it is only necessary here to remark further that, for reasons which may be deduced from what has already been said, a tropical colony, to be successful, must start as a Crown Colony, because otherwise that perfectly unprejudiced

treatment of the native question, which is essential, cannot be secured.

Let us now ascertain how far Crown Colony government has advanced in Fiji since the time when the Governor was a benevolent despot. Two Councils, respectively executive and legislative, were originally provided for the colony by the Queen's Letters Patent. The Executive Council consists of the Governor and a variable number of members, at first five, but at present seven, selected from the heads of departments or from other of the higher officials; and this Council, either directly or through the whole body of public officers subordinate to it, is responsible for the whole administration of the colony. Within this Council of officials the Governor, as president, is predominant, to an extent which naturally depends on his own tact, discretion, and previous experience. He is guided by the royal instructions issued to him on his first appointment. He alone may bring a subject before the Council; and he is bound so to submit any subject which he deems of sufficient importance. He must either accept the decision of the majority in council or must at once report to the Secretary of State, for subsequent confirmation or disallowance, his reason for making order against the advice of the majority. On the other hand, any other Executive Councillor may require that his dissent from the order shall be submitted for the information of the Secretary of State.

An uncommon, though not unprecedented, feature of the Executive Council in Fiji is that the Chief Justice, whose proper duty it is to hear and decide on any question which may be duly raised as to the legality of any action by the Executive Council, has sometimes recently occupied a seat on that Council. He might thus be placed in the difficult position of having to decide, as a judge, on action for which he is himself partly responsible as an administrator. The arrangement is due to the fact that it has been customary for the Chief Justice, in the absence from the Colony or the ill-health of the Governor, to act in his place as administrator; and that it is consequently advisable that even during the times when the Chief Justice is not acting as Governor, he

should be fully aware of all that goes on. The arrangement, however, is open to objection; and the difficulty might be met by relieving the Chief Justice of the duty of occasionally acting for the Governor.

The Legislative Council was formerly constituted entirely of nominated members, most of them being public officers, but a few being unofficial residents in the colony. But since March 1904 it has consisted of the Governor, as president, ten official nominated members, six unofficial members (all of whom are elected by duly qualified European residents), and two native members, whose status will hereafter be described. The creation of the six European members by election first introduced a representative element, but was no step towards responsible government. Not unnaturally, the six representatives of the people have constituted themselves into an 'opposition,' generally good-humoured enough, to the government of officials. This is partly due to their having long lived in the neighbourhood and imbibed the traditions of Australia, where responsible government has long prevailed, and partly to their failure to recognise that their proper functions are those of an advisory and not a 'responsible' body. Thus it occasionally happens that, when all six elected members are united on some question against a more or less compact official majority, they pretend to complain against the understanding—necessary in a Crown Colony, in which all the administrative officers are appointed by and subject to the Crown—that in any important matter the Governor can and must command the votes of his officials in Council.

Lest it should be assumed that the official command of votes mentioned at the close of the preceding paragraph—which is well explained in the Duke of Buckingham's despatch of August 17, 1868 (quoted by Sir Charles Bruce, i, 234 *seq.*)—is too severe a check on the wishes of the representatives of the people, it may be pointed out that, in any case in which the Governor may use his artificial majority against the real interests of the Colony as properly represented by the elected members, these latter have a remedy in their right of appeal to the Secretary of State, who, after proper enquiry and if convinced that a mistake had been made, would certainly take steps to reverse the erroneous

policy of the local Governor. As a matter of fact, there has been hardly any real and serious conflict of opinion between the two parties, the members of both of which have, outside the Legislative Council Chamber, combined on the most friendly terms. There have, it is true, been appeals by the elected members against the refusal of the Governor and his majority to grant some demand made by the elected representatives—for instance, for representation by officials on the Executive Council, or for trial by jury (instead of by a judge assisted by assessors) of criminal cases in which the interests of both natives and Europeans are concerned. But there can be no question that any impartial person acquainted with the local circumstances would decide that the colony is not yet ripe for either of these developments.

As already indicated, the 'native system' of Fiji is peculiar. Before the invasion of Europeans the community was only kept together by custom, i.e. by unwritten law in a constant state of unrecorded evolution, and administered at the will of those members of the community who excelled the rest in strength or cunning, and in proportion as each of these self-made 'chiefs' so excelled. It is practically certain that Fijian custom was never in any degree fixed, in the sense that our laws are fixed; and that the custom varied in different parts of the islands. The European invasion was immediately followed by the more or less irrational vitiation of native custom. Finally, the British Government, out of the less undesirable fragments of the native custom of one part of the islands, created, for all parts of the group, a 'native system.' Probably, in the difficult circumstances of the moment, this was the best thing to do.

Here we are concerned with the new native system only in so far as it deals with the keeping of order in the native communities. For this purpose the colony was divided into provinces, each originally under a native chief called Roko Tui; the provinces were divided into districts, each under a minor native chief or Buli; and within each district a larger or smaller number of towns or villages are recognised, each with its village chief and its own council. The village chief manages his village, more or less in accordance with such part of the native

custom as has been, or is, from time to time incorporated into the 'native regulations'; similarly, the Buli of each district controls the village chiefs within that district; and the Roko of each province controls the Bulis within his area of jurisdiction. In turn the Rokos are responsible to the Native Commissioner, who is always a European; and the Commissioner is directly responsible for native affairs to the Governor.

There is thus—in theory at least—a very complete administrative system for native affairs, for the due maintenance of which the Governor, working through his native department,[†] is ultimately responsible. There is, however, one way in which native affairs have, from almost the first days of the colony, come within the purview of the European officials (other than the Governor and his native Commissioner) to whom is entrusted the administration of the Colony apart from the native system. The 'Native Affairs Ordinance, 1876,' provides for a Native Regulation Board, consisting of the Governor, as President, the Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, the Native Commissioner, the Chief Medical Officer, nine Rokos of provinces, and four other natives, these nine and four being nominated by the Governor. The function of this Board is to frame the native regulations; and these regulations have to be submitted for the approval of the whole Legislative Council before obtaining the force of law. In other words, the draft native regulations have to be approved in the first instance by a Board on which thirteen picked natives sit as members. Till lately this was the only legislative function in which the natives shared; and even this was confined to purely native affairs.

But in 1904, when, as has been said, provision was first made for the election of European members of the Legislative Council, the opportunity was taken to allow natives a voice for the first time in the council which makes the laws of the colony. Unlike the European unofficial members, these natives, two in number, are not elected, but nominated under a somewhat peculiar system. From time to time a great and solemn Council of Chiefs, called the Bose-vaka-Turaga, meets to discuss affairs in which they are concerned, and to speak of these directly to the Governor, who is the Great Chief or Turaga Levu.

Under the arrangement made in March 1904, the Bose, when it meets, may present to the Governor a list of six names of chiefs—they must be able to read and speak the English language—who, in the opinion of the Bose, would be suitable as representatives of their fellow-natives in the Legislative Council of the colony. From this list the Governor may select two names, or, if he does not find on it any suitable names, he may demand a further list from his chiefs. In this way, by a combined system of modified election—by the chiefs, that is, not by the people—and nomination, two native members are added to the Legislative Council.

Unfortunately, owing to the system which has hitherto prevailed of teaching the Fijians in their own language instead of in English, the names available for submission for nomination by the Governor are very few; and the choice of native legislators is very limited. Moreover, owing partly to innate shyness in the presence of Europeans, and partly to a want of interest in and knowledge of European affairs, the native members as yet have hardly ever taken any intelligent part in the business of the Council. But the innovation was a step in the right direction; and many further steps in the same direction must be justified and taken before the colony, as a whole, is ripe to pass from the status of a Crown Colony to that of responsible government.

At the time when Fiji became a Crown Colony, most of the other islands more or less under British influence in the Western Pacific were still in the 'beach-combing' stage; i.e. there had settled in them from time to time refugee sailors, living among, and even upon, the natives, a few small traders in native produce, and sometimes a few overtaken missionaries. There was no law and order in these places, unless, as sometimes happened, the missionaries, by force of personality, had righteously obtained some small degree of control over some of the natives. Many of these islands were recruiting grounds for the 'blackbirders,' whose unrestrained operations, more often than not, led to disorder among the natives; and among all these islands passed from time to time one of H.M. ships dispensing a sort of rough justice as between the natives and their white visitors, doubtless as well as

possible under the circumstances, but often necessarily in very perfunctory fashion.

In 1872 and 1875 Acts of Parliament were passed to prevent 'blackbirding,' i.e. to regulate the recruiting of natives from the Pacific Islands for labour in Queensland and in Fiji; and in 1877 the provisions of these Acts were first incorporated in a general 'Order in Council,' which was much extended in 1893 and again in 1907, and still forms the letter of the law under which British rule is administered in most of the Pacific Islands. By these Orders in Council the office of High Commissioner for the Western Pacific was created; and, as a matter of convenience, this office has from the first been held by the Governor of Fiji, in addition to his own office. The Order in Council provides that the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner shall extend over Europeans, and in certain respects over natives, resident in such Western Pacific Islands as are not within the limits of the Colony of Fiji, or the Dominion of Australia or New Zealand, and are not within the jurisdiction of any foreign civilised Powers.

There has thus been brought within the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner an immense area, of which Fiji is practically, though hardly geographically, the centre, so far as the more important of the islands within it are concerned. Let us suppose that the High Commissioner sails from Fiji on a tour of inspection. He would most conveniently start in a south-easterly direction, making for the Tongan Islands, or, as Captain Cook called them, 'the Friendly Islands,' a group which is nominally an independent kingdom, the last in the Pacific, but is really entirely under British protection and influence. He might then go—though it would be far out of his course—a long way eastward, passing the Cook Islands, a dependency of New Zealand, and going near the French Archipelago which is made up of the Society, Low, and Marquesas Islands, to visit the tiny British island of Pitcairn, famous as the home of the mutineers of H.M.S. 'Bounty,' and still the residence of some of their descendants. He might also from Pitcairn visit the two or three tiny islets in that neighbourhood, which have for one reason or another, but chiefly because of their supposed deposits of phosphate, been annexed to Pitcairn

and so brought under the High Commissioner. From Pitcairn we will assume that he would return on his course to Tonga; thence he would go north and slightly eastward, passing between the two tiny French possessions of Wallis and Fotuma and the Samoan or Navigators group (which is now divided between Germany and the United States, but was once largely under British influence), to the Union and Phoenix groups; thence eastward to the Ellice Islands, and northward along the chain of the Gilbert or Kingsmill Islands.

In so doing he would pass the Equator, and approach, but not visit, the German Marshall or Jaluit Islands; but from the northernmost of the Gilbert Islands he would turn southward and west to wonderful little Ocean Island, a solitary mass of pure phosphate rock, and would pass by the similar German island of Nauru, or Pleasant Island, and by the lonely coral atoll of Ongtong Java, till he came to the Solomon Islands. He would leave the northernmost of the Solomon Islands, the large and only partly explored German island of Bougainville, to the north, and, after running southward along the whole of the rest of the Solomon Islands, with the Santa Cruz Islands, bearing now still south but westward, he would pass the Torres and Banks group and would run down the New Hebrides, which, with the Torres and Banks Islands, are jointly under British and French jurisdiction. From the southernmost of the New Hebrides he might, as a matter of interest, pass still further south, through the pine-clad Loyalty Islands (French) and reach the large and important French island of New Caledonia. Having thus passed through all the islands under his jurisdiction, the High Commissioner would, from the New Hebrides, bear directly eastward back to his own proper charge in Fiji.

A glance at the map will show that the places mentioned in the imaginary journey just described are very widely scattered; and, as there is no regular means of communication between any two of the islands or groups of the West Pacific, the High Commissioner's task of control from Fiji is a difficult one. It is somewhat lightened, it is true, by deputies resident in the more important places; but it is to be hoped that in the near future a system of wireless telegraphy may be established

throughout the islands, and that, within no long time, communication by mail-steamer may also be provided. The importance of the British islands in the Pacific lies in their situation, scattered as they are over the great ocean in which the British Empire, and more especially the Dominions of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, are all deeply interested, and other great World-Powers—the United States and Japan, Germany and France—are also more or less concerned. These other Powers are all at pains to strengthen their position and influence in the Pacific; and it would surely be a politic act on the part of the British Empire to do the same.

The British islands in the Western Pacific, with a few negligible exceptions already annexed to the Dominions of Australia and New Zealand, form one growing Crown Colony, widely isolated from all others, and lying near to the two great Dominions just mentioned. There are good and strong reasons why the Islands should not at present be annexed to either of these Dominions, despite their geographical position and community of commercial interests; but it seems that the time has come when every effort should be made to assist the development and growth of the Pacific Crown Colony towards the point at which it might safely be allowed to pass out of the Crown Colony stage, and to join that united 'Dominion of Australasia' which seems certainly destined one day to represent the British Empire in the western portion of the Pacific Ocean.

EVERARD IM THURN.

Art. 4.—THE ELIZABETHAN REFORMATION.

1. *England und die katholische Kirche unter Elisabeth und den Stuarts*. Von Arnold Oskar Meyer. Erster Band: *England und die katholische Kirche unter Elisabeth*. (Bibliothek des Kgl. Preuss. Histor. Instituts in Rom.) Rome: Loescher, 1911.
2. *The Reconstruction of the English Church*. By Roland G. Usher. Two vols. New York: Appleton, 1910.
3. *The Political History of England*. Edited by Rev. W. Hunt and Reginald L. Poole. Vol. VI: *From the Accession of Edward VI to the death of Elizabeth*. By Prof. A. F. Pollard. London: Longmans, 1910.
4. *The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion, 1558-1564*. By Henry Gee. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898.
5. *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction*. By R. W. Dixon. Vols V, VI. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902.
6. *The Cambridge Modern History*. Vol. II: *The Reformation*; Chap. xvi: *The Anglican Settlement and the Scottish Reformation*. By F. W. Maitland. Cambridge: University Press, 1903.
7. *A History of the English Church*. Edited by the Very Rev. W. R. Stephens and the Rev. W. Hunt. Vol. v: *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*. By the Rev. W. H. Frere. London: Macmillan, 1904.
8. *A History of England*. Edited by C. W. Oman. Vol. IV: *England under the Tudors*. By Arthur D. Innes. London: Methuen, 1905.
9. *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement; a study of contemporary Documents*. By Henry Norbert Birt, O.S.B. London: Bell, 1907.
10. *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*. By James Gairdner. Three vols. London: Macmillan, 1908-1911.

WHAT seemed at first sight the curious choice of Lord Acton in asking F. W. Maitland to write the chapter upon 'The Anglican Settlement and the Scottish Reformation' was fully justified, as indeed the choice of Maitland for any work needing learning and legal insight would certainly have been. The style, largely allusive and

more intricately humorous than in his earlier writings, remains something of a drawback, and even the enlarged limits of the elastic thirty pages proved too compressed. But the insistence upon the 'entry of Scotland into the history of Europe'—even if it had been anticipated by Collier—was one of the simple strokes of genius we had learnt to expect from Maitland; and the emphasis laid upon the Scottish Reformation, with its special growth of Presbyterianism, makes the ecclesiastical politics of England clearer. France developed the Synod, Scotland the 'concentric system of courts'; it remained for Cartwright at Cambridge to raise the anti-episcopalian cry of 'parity of ministers.' The sketch of Elizabeth's character, and of the wayward tendencies that made her policy, the tracing-out of the ecclesiastical crises that so quickly succeeded each other—all this is done with the skill of a master who knows that something may be added by future writers, but that nothing should be left for them to correct.

It would be difficult to find a better balanced or better proportioned account of the reign in its many aspects than that given by Mr Innes. His sketches of characters are excellent; for instance, Burleigh, 'a master of compromise, of balance; a devotee of moderation, of the *via media*,' with an 'ideal for England' of 'prosperous respectability'; 'the most industrious of men, a supremely shrewd judge of character and motive'; 'a consistent opportunist, using without scruple all currently admissible tools, never missing the chance of the half loaf.' Or again, that of Elizabeth's great rival, Philip II—'a morbid influence, not a devouring pestilence. A perfectly sombre bigot; an example of what the Greeks would have called *ὑβρις* of a very exceptional kind, who believed devoutly in himself as the instrument chosen by the Saints for the overthrow of heretics.' The characters stand out in a narrative which is always clear, although matters political and social are more largely dealt with than religious and ecclesiastical.

Later and even fuller, especially for ecclesiastical matters, is the excellent history of the reign by Prof. Pollard, who comes to the task with an ample control of the sources. In his clear and interesting chapter on 'Church and State' he reminds us that

'there was loss and gain in a union which necessarily partook of the nature of a compromise. . . . Elizabeth had to construct out of diverse materials a system which, while wonderfully lasting and serviceable, never corresponded fully with the ideal design. Her work is sometimes described in confusing terms, which seem to imply that she and her father established, started, or even founded the Church of England. But, in truth, the Tudors founded neither catholicism nor protestantism; and they only modified the outward fabric of ecclesiastical organisation by substituting the monarchy for the papacy. Nevertheless they exerted a predominant influence in determining how much catholicism and how much protestantism should be embodied in the Anglican church; . . . and their peculiar merit in this respect consists in the skill with which they divined a public opinion half formed and unexpressed. It will, however, always be a matter of controversy whether the nation accepted Elizabeth's settlement because it embodied truth or because the government made it.'

When we come to writers more strictly ecclesiastical, the first to notice is the late Mr Dixon. He has not always had full justice done him by the general public, although critics like Dr Pocock and Dr Creighton praised his work. His style was ornate, and approached the epical; humour and epigram enlivened it; but did not banish deep feeling and sympathetic tenderness. He only lived to bring his narrative down to the critical year 1570, and the two volumes given to Elizabeth's reign appeared after his death. They have all the characteristics of the earlier volumes—knowledge, many-sided interests, fairness and a keen eye for character. His Anglican standpoint, sometimes urged against him, affects neither his accuracy nor his justice. Views which he reached by way of argument, or opinions which he knew to admit of argument, are stated so as to be easily distinguished from the results of historical research.

Dr Frere's volume in the 'History of the English Church,' edited by the late Dr Stephens and Dr Hunt, includes the reign of James I with that of Elizabeth; and this is perhaps the most convenient arrangement for ecclesiastical matters. The reign of James saw the completion of a long series of labours, liturgical and biblical, which had been carried on but not ended under Eliza-

beth; the same religious tendencies, academic and popular, are seen in the two reigns; the reconstruction of the ecclesiastical machinery which had been left over under Elizabeth was completed under James. Dr Frere is peculiarly full in his account of the controversies and literary agitations of the time, with a fullness they deserve, because they differ from many controversies in being significant of the thought of one generation and formative for the thought of another. It is a little difficult, for instance, to hold the threads of the controversial network which had Jewel for a centre; and they are often tossed aside with the remark that he was the most learned Anglican of his day. But a real appreciation of that learning, which was admired even in those days of learning, is necessary to understand alike the position of the Caroline divines and the theological influences of the Elizabethan settlement.

It is well, therefore, that these controversies and others—such as that between Bellarmine and James I—should be sketched, as they are, by Dr Frere, for they are really vital to the history. Jewel was learned, as was Andrewes after him; Bellarmine was equally learned; but it is not their learning which interests us so much as their discussion of questions that are living even yet. When Jewel began 'to show it plain that God's holy gospel, the ancient bishops, and the primitive Church do make on our side, and that we have not without just cause left these men and rather have returned to the apostles and old catholic fathers,' he was speaking somewhat as an 'Anglican' of to-day. When Bellarmine, in spite of his learning, failed to understand what the Royal Supremacy really was, he made a mistake which followers of his, some more and some less distinguished, have repeated since. The great controversy turned then, as now, upon the claims of the Papacy. 'The main point of his whole plea is this,' says Jewel, speaking of his opponent Harding, 'that the bishop of Rome, whatsoever it shall like him to determine in judgment, can never err.' For the rest, it need not be said that Dr Frere writes with a full knowledge of the sources, some of which have not been sufficiently used by previous writers. He is at home in the episcopal registers; he moves easily through the liturgic and con-

fessional tangles of the day; he has sympathy to spare alike for the Romanist recusant and the ejected Puritan; yet he does not let all this check his sympathy for the men, possibly more prosaic, who, like Nehemiah, did the humbler work of building up the walls of their ruined Jerusalem, with their swords always ready for use.

In some other works we come across an interesting preliminary discussion. Dr Gee, who in his recent little book upon the Reformation Period has surveyed the whole period, undertook in 'The Elizabethan Clergy and the Settlement of Religion, 1558-1564,' to investigate the treatment of the clergy at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and to estimate the number deprived for refusing, by reason of their papal sympathies, to conform to the settlement of religion then made. This investigation was far more laborious than the easily expressed conclusion would seem to show. Here and there estimates and approximations have to be made; but to most students following out the work in detail Dr Gee's fairness and judgment are satisfactory.

'The extreme ascertainable number' (he says) 'of the clergy deprived for all causes between November 17, 1558, and November 17, 1564, is about 400. To these may be added eighty more whose names are preserved by Sanders, but are not to be identified in official authorities.'

But from this total of 480 large deductions have to be made. Some vacancies due to deprivation may have dated from the Marian reaction, which left many parishes vacant; some persons in Sanders' list were never in Holy Orders at all; and some were perverts of a date later than 1559 but before 1564. On the other hand, additions have to be made for those dioceses—York, Lincoln, Bristol, Bangor, Llandaff, and St Asaph—where registers and diocesan records fail us wholly or in part. Dr Gee's conclusion is that the total number cannot be much above 200, and must be under 300. With this calculation Dr Frere would agree; but it will be noticed that it applies only to the beginning of the reign. It includes, on the one hand, the few who submitted at first only to withdraw their assent later; and, on the other hand, it cannot distinguish between those who subscribed heartily and those who did it grudgingly. Dr Gee would allow

that 'at the outset of the reign the clergy, as a body, were hostile to any change in the existing state of affairs so far as the Church was concerned.'

These conclusions have been attacked in detail by Dom Birt, who, in his 'Elizabethan Religious Settlement,' gives us in interesting form the results of long and honest work. To quote his own words in describing the occasion of the book, Dr Creighton's 'Elizabeth' and Dr Gee's book, just noticed, 'ran counter so completely' to his 'own growing conviction, that he determined to set forth the facts as the original documents had presented them' to him. Bishop Creighton's 'Elizabeth' and his 'History of the Papacy' stand, of course, upon different planes; but even the slighter work has its value. And Dom Birt is not entitled to speak as he does of Dr Gee's 'professing' to have studied the sources; his opponent has done this as genuinely as Dom Birt himself.

Dom Birt and Dr Gee differ in their estimates of the clergy deprived at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The former would raise the total of those deprived to at least 700, besides some 1175 who left their parishes for conscience' sake. But his calculations seem a little loose; thus he reckons (p. 163) all who did not take the oath as Papists; in one place (p. 163) the number of clergymen in the Northern Province appears as 1000, in another place (p. 187) as 1130; and the argument for reducing the total number of beneficed clergymen in England to 8000 does not carry conviction. It is true that Dom Birt corrects Dr Gee in a few details, but his estimates and his dealings with figures do not impress us as equal to those of his opponent. He does not start from so certain an arithmetical basis; his assumptions are larger; and the means he gives us for checking his argument are less abundant. The inevitable assumption of the papal position underlies the whole of his work; thus, for instance, he points out that the validity of Parker's consecration depends on the form used—a point which is settled for him and others by the Bull *Apostolicae Curae*. But these defects, once pointed out, do little to lessen the interest of the book, which is a genuine piece of history, and, owing to Dom Birt's knowledge of the sources, has peculiar value. If, on the one hand, he overestimates the zeal of England for the Papacy, he is probably right

on the other, in denying the existence of any great zeal for the Elizabethan system at its start. The growth of zeal, or at any rate of acquiescence in the system, cannot be denied. But it remains for discussion whether Dom Birt is right in assigning as the cause for this change the severity of the ecclesiastical administration. This severity he seems to overstate; and in any case it is doubtful whether any persecution, unless perfectly general and rigid, could have such an effect.

Some of these problems are handled in Professor A. O. Meyer's 'England und die katholische Kirche unter Elizabeth und den Stuarts.' Prof. Meyer has had the advantage of working at the Vatican library as well as in England; and, if the whole work is wrought out upon the same scale and with the same excellent workmanship, English students will once more have to congratulate themselves upon their German fellow-workers. At the outset of his book Dr Meyer distinguishes clearly Elizabeth's view of the Royal Supremacy from her father's. It is well known that Elizabeth, largely through her own wish, was styled not 'Supreme Head' as her father had been, but 'Supreme Governor.' Article 37 of the Thirty-nine Articles puts it clearly:

'we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evildoers.'

There was much discussion about the title. The Commons wished to keep 'Supreme Head,' which, as Dixon says, 'died irksomely'; the Lords inclined the other way. Among the Puritans opinions differed; Lever, according to Sandys, 'wisely put such a scruple in the Queen's head that she would not take the title of Supreme Head'; but Parkhurst held that 'head' and 'governor' came to the same thing. There were all sorts of minor opinions; there was a Parliamentary tangle; but even then the Queen's wishes were strong and her policy was clear. As

years went on, its merits and its rightfulness made themselves felt. There was no 'Cæsaropapism,' no usurpation of the spiritual functions by the sovereign. There was a protectorship of the Church; there was a subjection of the clergy to the law of the land, a visitatorial jurisdiction, and an appeal against abuses. The existing bishops—without their head and few in number—could not accept such conditions without disgrace. Their places were filled; and Parker ascended the vacant throne of Pole. There *was* a revolution, so far as the rejection of the Papal Supremacy went; but that, we hold, was the limit of revolution. It might be difficult theoretically to justify every step in the formation of the Prayer-book and the settlement of law. But there was no intrusion of the civil power into religious matters, nor was there any interference or violence that could not be paralleled from other lands in other circumstances. The limits of revolution were clearly marked; its area was confined to the abolition of Papal Supremacy and the creation of the machinery necessary thereto.

The true explanation of the change by which the Elizabethan system became gradually more popular Dr Meyer finds, not in the persecution (indeed, the success of the Jesuit mission coincides with times of severe persecution instead of laxity), but in the fitness of that system for the temperament of the English nation; while, as lesser causes, he assigns the preference for the national tongue and the peacefulness of Elizabeth's rule. Here his judgment, which is always balanced and deliberate, agrees with Maitland's rather than with Dom Birt's. The setting of his special theme in the international politics of the day, the variations among the English Romanists themselves, the effects of the Bull of 1570 and of the Spanish Armada, are all well described, with ample notes and references to fresh material.

The one lack in Dr Meyer's work is possibly due to choice and not to neglect; but it is essential to an all-round view that the development of the English Church should be traced. The names of Parker and Whitgift, for instance, do not appear in the index to his book, and only incidentally, if at all, in the work itself. But, on the other hand, particularly full and excellent is the treatment of the Jesuit mission and of the instruction to the

missionaries not to mix in politics, which some obeyed and some disregarded. The explanatory declaration given by Gregory XIII in 1580 to Campion and Parsons (that the Bull was binding upon Catholics when its fulfilment was possible, but not as things were) seemed to justify the charge that the Pope had spoken with different voices in private and in public, allowing submission while commanding opposition. We have not space even to summarise the discussion of the charge against Gregory XIII that he encouraged the assassination of Elizabeth; but the correspondence of Sega (the nuncio in Madrid) with the Cardinal of Como leaves no possible doubt. The Pope recognised the rightfulness of the deed; but that simply means, our author thinks, that he was not—as a leader of religion should have been—above the average level of his day. The strain upon the loyalty of Papists was great. The Pope would not permit them to be good Englishmen; the State would not permit them to exercise their religion. But, from its point of view, the State too had its difficulties; and, while he does justice to the heroism of some of the martyrs, Dr Meyer describes the persecution as statesmanlike, adapted both to attain its ends and to suit specific cases, and not needlessly severe. The description of the contest between England and the Papacy as a phase in the struggle between the medieval Church and the modern State is peculiarly happy and well put; to that aspect of it we shall return. Meanwhile, we must recognise the power as well as the industry of this valuable book.

Passing over many smaller books which deserve notice, such as Mr Kennedy's interesting life of Parker, we come to Dr Usher's volumes on 'The Reconstruction of the English Church.' This work, while based on research, is more than a product of learning. Briefly put, Dr Usher's argument is this. The problem of the reconstruction of the English Church was left over by Elizabeth and her advisers. The theological and doctrinal foundation was laid, but a legal and administrative building-up was needed. The Canon Law had been dealt with in a curious way. The renunciation of the papal obedience had left large gaps in the legal and administrative fabric; much was taken away, more was left incoherent. The commission of thirty-two for its

codification had not done its work; a reconstruction, such as had been worked out at Trent, was needed. Henry VIII had thought himself called to the work of destruction, but had put off until a more convenient day the more difficult work of reconstruction. The reigns of Edward and Mary had intensified both the existing disorder and the need of revision. The discordant impulses of opposite parties, Catholics and Puritans, under Elizabeth had the same effect. The English Church was now deliberately basing itself upon the principle of episcopacy, joined to the Royal Supremacy in things temporal. This was the meaning of Parker's administration, of Jewel's appeal to antiquity, of Elizabeth's control. But long dependence upon papal support, the growing laxity of episcopal administration, and the disuse of visitations—the medieval instrument of efficiency—had weakened episcopal power. Some of Elizabeth's prelates, moreover, were not men to add dignity to their office; and many of their subordinates had shown that they had no belief in the theory of episcopacy by their organisation of 'classes' beneath the cloak of the prophesyings. The bishops thus found themselves powerless just when Elizabeth was calling upon them to administer discipline.

Dr Usher's contention is that Whitgift, at Bancroft's suggestion, made the Court of High Commission—which by its visitations had done so much to restore order—a means of permanently strengthening the machinery. It is true that the alleged suggestion by Bancroft is without exact proof; and this author's view of the change—which was rather in the use than in the nature of the Court—is doubtful. Bancroft had already appeared as the advocate of Episcopacy against Presbyterianism, and had in 1584 unmasked the Presbyterian conspiracy to undermine the Church. The High Commission, which had worked, in temporary form, under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and then under Elizabeth, had been of great use as a visitorial body; but it was administered chiefly by laymen. By 1593 it has lost its purely visitorial character and become a permanent part of the ecclesiastical machinery; and ecclesiastics, not laymen, are prominent on it. From it now came the coercion which was the impelling force behind the medieval ecclesiastical system. The changing ideas of men, the stress laid upon

the royal power, made this new source of strength seem just what was needed. The importance of Church organisation in the sixteenth century is sometimes overlooked; but the success of the Calvinistic model, and that of the Counter-Reformation working upon the reformed and Tridentine system and by the agency of the Jesuits, illustrate it. In England the organisation of the Puritan 'classes,' suppressed by Whitgift with Bancroft's help, and the struggle over the Arch-Priest—so well sketched by the late Mr T. G. Law and discussed both by Meyer and Usher—are further illustrations. The Puritan organisation was put down; the Papal organisation remained.

Dr Usher's story of Bancroft's dealing with this problem in 1600 is interesting and suggestive. His view, well supported by documents and evidence, is this. Bancroft understood that the Romanist laity were loyal at heart, and that the influence of the gentry was decisive. It was their inaction or hostile action which had paralysed the Recusancy Acts, so that, oddly enough, where Roman Catholics were plenty, the conversions were often few. Bancroft also knew that the majority of the Romanist priests in England—certainly the seculars and some of the Jesuits—desired first and foremost to minister to the needs of their brethren, rather than to meddle with politics or even to make converts. Hence Bancroft supported the seculars in their appeal to Rome in the Arch-Priest troubles; hence, too, he was inclined to tolerance. The secular appellants were fairly successful in their appeal; but the Jesuit mission, with deep devotion and real spirituality, had by this time gained too firm a hold of the Romanist laity for their power to be shaken.

Another phase of Bancroft's activity was concerned with the assailants of Episcopacy grouped under the banner of 'Martin Marprelate.' It is astonishing that these writers—whatever sympathy their treatment should arouse—should have been magnified into heroes. Coarseness and unscrupulous abuse were their weapons; and these, in the hands of writers who know their public, are only too frequently effective. They had just that literary instinct which seems to belong as of right to oppressed nationalities and suppressed movements; they had the human touch so often lacking in the literature of the day; but the humanity was the worse side of mankind. The

campaign, underground as well as above ground, by which Bancroft 'unmasked Puritanism,' included the suppression of Martin Marprelate and his illegal press.

Dr Usher, in short, brings out Bancroft's importance as the centre of the anti-Puritan movement. 'The turning-point,' he says, 'in the history of Elizabethan non-conformity was Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross, on the assembling of Parliament, February 9, 1588-9.' The sermon, no less than the whole history, shows up the littlenesses and meannesses which, in spite of its real spirituality, disgraced the Puritan movement. We have long had our history viewed through a haze of Puritan tradition. As Dr Usher says, for one of their historians, Benjamin Brook, 'every man is either "this learned man," or "this admirable scholar," or "this eloquent preacher."' And Dr Frere, speaking of the same uncritical writer, reminds us that 'truthfulness never was the Puritans' strong point.' Yet, because of their undoubted piety, every general statement, every scandal, every picturesque detail, given by them has been accepted as fact. It is the merit of most of these works we are criticising that facts are judged as they are, not as Puritans coloured them and as we have long taken them on trust. But Dr Usher has given us besides a broad general view of the whole period, which is original and impressive. On the one hand, he emphasises the incompleteness of the English Reformation upon its constructive and administrative sides; on the other hand, he summarises the work, begun by Bancroft under Elizabeth and finished by him under James I, of giving to the Church of England an effective episcopal organisation, a constructive polity which was formed amid the disturbances of Papist and Puritan. We think he has proved his case. But Bancroft's work in the Canons in 1604 and the Visitation Articles of 1605 lie outside our subject.

The earlier part of Elizabeth's reign was a time of general political and religious settlement for Europe at large. In politics the rivalry of France and Spain was now firmly fixed; the smaller Powers, and the tangled policies of Germany, stand ranged around them much as they were to stand until the Thirty Years' War. The one uncertain thing in politics was the part which England

was to play. Spanish influence was strong, and Spanish pensioners in England were many, although sometimes ungrateful; Mary's reign had, however, brought hatred—perhaps unjustly—upon the name of Spaniard. In religious matters the same kind of settlement was taking place. Too much stress is often laid upon the first quarter of the century, as if, in comparison with it, all the rest were unimportant. With the influence of the Renaissance, and with the tide of individualism which rose as the Middle Ages waned, with the advent of Lutheranism and the outcry for reform, forces of division and of disunion had been brought into active play. There were some who sought peace and ensued it, but to others it seemed impossible or undesirable.

At any rate, until the century was some half-way over, it could not be said what the end would be. Some rulers, especially the Emperor and the King of France, had strong political reasons for seeking religious unity; even theologians, in spite of those hatreds from which Melancthon hoped to escape in Heaven, did not think eventual unity impossible. The mediating theologians—Groppe, Pflug, and others—were a strong party at the Imperial Court; and their influence at the Conference of Regensburg (1541), with its platform of doctrinal unity, had made even that seem far from hopeless. Many thought that a General Council bent on reform and headed by a reforming Pope might bring it about. Not until the Council of Trent was well under way did that hope seem plainly stricken; and even at the final reassembling of the Council political needs galvanised it into fresh life. But, when the Council of Trent was ended, all doubts as to the position of Catholics were set at rest; the policy of the Papacy, and its theological position, biblical and doctrinal, were defined, far enough at any rate to shut out any but medieval solutions. This was for theory; in practice the Jesuits, with their devotion, their learning, and their educational skill, worked for the Papacy and with it. Episcopacy, even if fettered, justified itself under Rome as in England. Once more the Papacy was a conquering power, and at the head of a compact and solid force. Nothing short of political necessity was likely to tempt it from its path.

Until somewhere about the same time Protestantism

itself was also in a fluid state. Lutherans were not anxious to accentuate their divergences from Rome; they were also of different minds; and even upon sacramental questions conflicts merging into jealousies had appeared among them. But the 'Formula of Concord' (1577) became a badge of union for Lutherans, even while it definitely parted them from those outside. Calvinism, however, and not Lutheranism was now the growing wing of Protestantism. But, as we pass the halfway mile-stone of the century, lines of religious separation appear more firmly drawn, and things are passing into the state where they long remain. There are still those who move singly or in groups from one religious camp to another; but neutrality, or that stage of mental unrest which might move in either direction, becomes rarer. The first quarter of the century had seen the rise of parties and principles which must make for disunion. The third quarter saw the divisions worked out in practice, and the dividing principles defined with precision. The mists of the dawn had passed away, and in the full noontide glare men saw clearly the watersheds which divided them, the ends to which their diverse roads would lead them. Men and parties alike were adopting definite attitudes and views in an age of definition, of sharply-marked policies and interests. Many of the issues which Elizabeth and her Ministers had to face were therefore more clearly marked than they would have been a generation before. Her policy inevitably moves in the same direction as the Europe of her day, towards clearness and definition. Politically the force of nationalism was working itself out in action; ecclesiastically the 'Elizabethan settlement' was no mere artifice of statesmen; it was part of the general movement of the day towards a practical unity based on definition and, if necessary, upon exclusion of what made such unity impossible. That settlement corresponds indeed, so far as the wishes of Elizabeth and her statesmen went, to the 'Interims' of the Continent, but it won a surprising success because it fitted in with tendencies deeper and more general.

One thing is clear. From the very first, independence of Rome was intended; the Queen might play diplomatically with the invitation—if it really was an invitation—to Trent, but she was justified in her doubts

of the freedom or universality of the assembly. The Pope was not the force in politics he had been of old; thus in 1579 the English Ministers could comfort themselves with the reflection that, even if the Pope were 'malitious,' he had no more power to hurt than a 'pore chaplaine.' In this resolve for independence the Government did not by any means follow the line of least resistance, even if they rightly guessed the trend of national opinion. A fixed and firm principle of independence underlay all diplomatic appearances and expedients. And it is probable that Elizabeth's relation to foreign Protestants was of the same kind. She might play with them diplomatically; she might emphasise at her wish some special aspect of the English formularies; but, after all, these were to remain English and therefore of a type by themselves. The religious and political settlements ran on parallel lines. Inclusion, not exclusion, breadth, not narrowness, were their common characteristics.

It was not an age in which rulers or statesmen shrank from responsibility in religious matters, or even from revolutionary action. Elizabethan England can claim analogies in Spain, France, Bavaria, and in Sweden with its 'Red Book.' Nowhere, unless perhaps in Presbyterian Scotland, was the principle of ecclesiastical independence carried into consistent practice. If the Elizabethan settlement began with violence, with a high-handed interference of the State, it was the usage of the day, which even Queen Mary had followed in her reunion with Rome. The age did not stand too closely upon precedents; it did not shrink from innovation or revolution any more than from persecution. It was enough if the broad essentials were left untouched; and among unscrupulous politicians and self-willed theologians even these had sometimes fared badly. If the acceptance of the papal power was an essential of the Christian Church, there was therefore a sharp revolution to begin with. But this is, of course, a point of theological controversy; and it would be easy to gather, either from the diplomatists of the day, or even from the theologians—specially the Spanish theologians—at Trent, uncomfortable sayings against the papal power. It is doubtful, however, if the Papacy ever quite saw the permanency of Elizabeth's position, as compared with that of her father;

the Curia fancied until much later that she might be enticed to leave it.

When, in June 1563, the Fathers at Trent were considering the suggestion sent from Louvain for the excommunication of Elizabeth, the Curia was led by the Emperor Ferdinand I to shelve the proposal. Ferdinand, like Philip II of Spain in 1570, thought the step 'sudden and unexpected.' The limits of the papal power, though not (as in England) that power itself, were under general discussion abroad. Had the Pope the right of deposing sovereigns? If Elizabeth were to be deposed, it would be necessary, as Ferdinand pointed out, to depose all princes who had usurped ecclesiastical power. The merely partial reception of the Tridentine decrees, the reservation (even in accepting them) of royal privileges, which was made by Spain, Naples, and France, and the variations in the Empire, were significant. It was the same difficulty which the secular priests found (1603) in their Declaration of Loyalty to Elizabeth; they too limited the Pope's power to spiritual matters. The question of Papal Supremacy had been raised; and here Elizabeth made her great venture.

As Mr Gairdner (i, 329, 330) well puts it, the result of Mary's reign had been

'that the Pope's doctrine was now to be enforced by royal supremacy, instead of doctrine of a different character. . . . So what might have ultimately come of the relations between England and the Vatican, if Mary had lived much longer, is a matter of speculation. All her zeal for the restoration of papal authority had only led her to assert it by royal supremacy after allying herself with a power disliked, not altogether unjustly, by the Roman Pontiff himself; and the Roman Pontiff . . . felt apparently that papal authority restored by royal authority in such a fashion need hardly have been restored at all.'

Tentative solutions of one kind or another had led men to think; and now the lines of controversy were plain.

An illustration of the state of feeling in religious matters can be found in the story of an alleged offer by the Pope to allow the English Prayer-book if the Queen would recognise his supremacy. The story (which is well treated of in a note by Mr Denny in his excellent little book on Anglican Orders) is sometimes accepted in spite

of its improbability, and sometimes rejected because of the insufficient evidence for it. The mention of it by Lord Coke at Norwich in August 1606, allowing for the easy error of Pius V for Pius IV, is supported by later mentions of it, by Bishop Andrewes, who said it seemed as if, after all, 'the supremacy is the assuaging of wrath,' and by others. These are much later than the incident could have been; but two letters in the Calendar of State Papers (Foreign) bear on it. Walsingham, writing to Burleigh under date June 21, 1571, describes a conversation he had held with Catharine de Medici as to the use of the English liturgy by the Duke of Anjou in case he married Elizabeth; speaking at her request as a private gentleman rather than as an ambassador, he had insisted upon the use of the Prayer-book. He had given to M. de Foix, whom, along with Montmorency, the King was sending to England to discuss the agreement, a copy of the Prayer-book, 'which the Pope would have by council confirmed as Catholic if the Queen would have acknowledged the same as received from him.' For this papal offer a marginal note in Walsingham's own handwriting adds an explanation—'an offer made by the Cardinal of Lorraine as Sir N. Throgmorton showed me.' There may be here a reference to incidents mentioned in an earlier letter from Throgmorton to Cecil (December 28, 1561), where he says that the formulary of the Church of England is better allowed by the Papists and less repugnant to them than that of Geneva or any form used in Germany. The Church of England Order would have more suffrages when under discussion than any other. Throgmorton himself in another letter urges the reading of Edward VI's Homilies, rather than the ramblings of 'perverse-spirited men who challenge to themselves singular gifts of God and extraordinary revelations'; for such reading he held to be an 'imitation of ancient Fathers, and the usage of ancient Churches.'

In these letters the conservative character of the English Church, and the large margin of unsettled opinion as to forms of prayer, are clearly displayed. The former is a feature to which more attention might be given; and it is precisely here where the Elizabethan and Edwardine tendencies part. It may be allowed that in liturgical matters Cranmer and a few others were both learned and

conservative. But upon episcopacy Cranmer's views were looser than were Parker's, and much more so than Whitgift's. The correspondence between Whitgift and Beza, indeed, arising out of Matthew Sutcliff's writings, is instructive, not only for Whitgift's views but for the concessions towards episcopacy which Beza (writing this time to an archbishop, not to Knox) was ready to make. How deliberately this conservative position was taken up is shown by Elizabeth's 'Declaration of the Queen's proceedings since her reign'—an answer to the northern Earls' rebellion of 1569. She claimed that her supremacy was no more than her predecessors', although it was more clearly recognised; there was no intention to define the faith or change ceremonies from those before received by the Catholic and Apostolic Church. It was this conservative position of the English Church, much misunderstood and misrepresented, as the Queen complained, that attracted Saravia and still more Casaubon. It was asserted in the first place against the Papacy, and thus might be easily regarded as a mere negation; it was asserted secondly and positively against the Puritans, and thus it was not only taken up but maintained throughout the reign. Its two-sided development is the ecclesiastical history of the reign.

The large margin of unsettled opinion is also worth noting. The English Romanists, in their exorbitant but pathetic request to be allowed attendance at their parish churches, pointed out what the Spanish Ambassador de Quadra, himself a bishop, admitted—the scriptural and unexceptionable character of the Prayer-book; the conservative element in its workmanship was as evident then as now. It was an age of liturgic experiments. The pliancy of the Papacy in matters of vernacular worship and communion in one kind had been repeatedly shown, although it was soon to be replaced by an iron persistency. There was really nothing surprising then, and there need be nothing surprising now, in the thought of a papal confirmation of the Prayer-book. The papal supremacy might really be, as Andrewes said, 'the assuaging of wrath.' A reconciliation on such terms might have been possible, although, as a matter of fact, neither Pope nor Queen was disposed for it. The permanence of such a reconciliation is more doubtful.

The explanation of the whole story is probably to be found in the mention of the Cardinal of Lorraine. He was deeply convinced of the power of diplomacy, as centred in himself. He had made a great impression by his oration at the Colloquy of Poissy (Sept. 1561); his advocacy of concessions—such as that of the chalice to the laity—had shown his wish for unity; at the Council of Trent he distinguished himself by his dexterity in drafting compromises to bring together opponents. He was thus the very man to bridge over a gulf of separation; but, as in the matter of the acceptance of the decrees of Trent by France, he sometimes promised more than he could perform. Doubtless he made the suggestion or the promise; his authority to do so is entirely another matter.

But for Elizabeth the Papal Supremacy was the one thing inadmissible. Her relation to the Papacy was then of the first importance. It is sometimes treated of as mainly diplomatic, as a policy formed by events, and therefore open to change from time to time, or if events had been other than they were; it is sometimes treated as if it arose mainly from the domestic and ecclesiastical conditions of England. But the general drift of the works here considered is to suggest that Elizabeth's position was based more upon general principles than upon temporary expediency. The break-up of the medieval system, centred in the claims of the Pope to govern sovereigns and, if need be, to depose them, had begun. Disregard of those claims was common if not universal. France disregarded them in practice; the Pragmatic Sanction, the Gallican claims, the speeches of the French representatives at Trent, especially upon the 'reformation of Princes,' with their proposed limitation of the temporal power, had shown the divergence of the views held in France and Rome. Even the energetic diplomacy of the Cardinal of Lorraine could do little more than gloss over the difference; and France never accepted the views of the papal sovereignty which underlay the Tridentine decrees. The Empire had shown its opinions, so far as such an incoherent body could have a common opinion, not only by Maximilian's fantastic scheme for making himself Pope, but by the 'Libel of Reformation' prepared (September 1561) for presentation to the Council of Trent. Under that scheme Italy would

have ceased to be the centre of ecclesiastical gravity; the Princes were to direct the reform that was to be made, as well as dispose generally of ecclesiastical funds. These differences of principles were never properly arranged; the astonishing thing is that the Papacy, admitting no question as to its power, tiding over one difficulty after another, has reached modern times with its theoretical scheme as to Church and State not only not re-considered, but to all appearance fundamentally the same. Neither Joseph II nor Febronius could change its medieval theory, although the former and his fellow-princes were able to impose limitations in practice.

With Dr Meyer we hold that the conflict between the Papacy and the England of Elizabeth is part of the conflict between the medieval papal Church and the modern State. In varying ways the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward and Mary had disentangled the principles from the perplexing whirl of events. By Elizabeth's accession the principles could be clearly seen; and it is to us the merit, to supporters of the Papacy the reproach, of her administration to have acted upon the theory of national independence as opposed to Papal Supremacy. Hence her disregard of papal approaches, and hence, too, her preference for the political over the religious aspects of all Church questions. It was her main care to assert the independence of national religious life, and, by so doing, to secure in the end not only national but individual liberty. It was not wholly her fault if, in aiming at the larger end, she sacrificed the smaller. Her rejection of the Papacy gained freedom for national growth.

But, when the papal foundation for ecclesiastical unity was rejected, the episcopal foundation was left. Then, partly by instinct and partly by reason, the episcopate was made, in that historic spirit which is secured by continuity of form, the motive force of the English Church in a way which the papal power and the defects of Church life had made impossible for the later Middle Ages. There were many difficulties of adjustment—internal difficulties—between the power of the State and the power of the episcopate. If the Fathers at Trent found the subject of episcopacy a difficult one to discuss and an impossible one to settle under the governing

condition of the Papacy, it was only likely that English Churchmen should find their own difficulties of another kind. It was easy to make a triumphant appeal to antiquity; it was more difficult to form a clear ideal of episcopal powers when the Papacy and the Canon Law were removed. It was significant that Parker, careful, cautious, and learned, should draw the outlines of the English system; it was significant that a later prelate, Whitgift, should go further in his appeal to theory and in his practice of power. The recognition of this principle as the foundation of the 'Elizabethan settlement of religion' makes it easier to understand much that happened. The repeated refusals, as in 1572, 1577 and 1581, to allow ecclesiastical matters to be discussed in the Commons instead of by the bishops or Convocation marked the difference between Elizabeth and her predecessors. The episcopal authority, which had been formerly the means of reconciling local life and Catholic unity, was to be allowed independence, subject always to the Royal Supremacy, which was to be a support against impugners at home and would-be oppressors abroad. As the reign went on, it became clearer than ever that the claims of the Papacy did interfere with national sovereignty and national freedom.

It was not only against the Papacy that the freedom of the episcopate as an expression of national religious life had to be asserted. The returned fugitives of Mary's reign were ready to carry to all extremes the 'individualism' which was the original impulse of the Reformation. The Royal Supremacy and episcopal power stood in its way. Thus the crisis came in 1572, with the publication of the 'Admonition to Parliament' and its command to 'take away the lordship, the loitering, the pomp, the idleness and livings of bishops.' It is certain that there was an attempt to create a Presbyterian machinery which could work underground until it was widespread enough and strong enough to throw off episcopacy and subvert the Church. It is probable, as Mr Usher thinks, that in reality the supporters of this new system were rather loud and ubiquitous than many and influential. They based their plan upon the appeal to Scripture in that narrow sense that Bancroft and Hooker overthrew. But they were right, after all, when they

insisted that there was a lack of administration in the Elizabethan system. Its details were, indeed, not worked out; arrangements which might make an excellent 'Interim,' eked out by the royal authority, were of necessity far from complete. But, whether we take the controversies or the events of the reign, the working-out of this conception of a Catholic Church without the Pope is easy to trace. The Puritans agreed that the Pope should be thrown overboard, but they wished that the bishops should follow him. Here again the Elizabethan government was consistent; but it was weaker in its internal system than in its exclusion of foreign influence. The principles separating Pole and Parker were not more vital, but were easier to disentangle, than those separating Cartwright and Hooker; it was therefore easier to separate them in practice.

In all this working-out of a system there had to be much that was tentative, something that was revolutionary. The real appeal of any revolution, even of one that bases itself upon an appeal to the past, lies to the future. The Elizabethan settlement sought to make room for the national life to grow; and hence its quarrel with the Papacy. In its reform of doctrine, in its seeking for new light from a learning that was really new, it passed behind the Middle Ages. That it did not throw over the Middle Ages is everything; it preserved the episcopacy, and, while it failed to reform many administrative abuses, it kept that coercive system which the medieval Church had tried to bring to perfection. It might, perhaps, have been possible, even in the days of Elizabeth, to go back to the earlier conception of a spiritual authority, working by persuasion and guidance, instead of by force and punishment. But the Elizabethan mind was still too medieval for that to happen. The coercive machinery of the Church courts was kept; it came to depend more and more upon the strong arm of the State. More and more it roused the growing anger of the individual seeking for freedom of movement and of growth. It was an error, but its harmfulness was small compared to the persecutions abroad.

In political matters the Elizabethan model gained success. It was efficient; and it worked in unison with the national feelings. In Church matters much the same can

be said. It is true that the Catholic recusant, the Non-conformist, and the Separatist were the creations of the reign; but they were its unavoidable creations. And many who, under other management, might have been numbered with them became children, even if murmuring children, of the National Church. Upon the great principles of Church government mechanical details, often meant merely for a time, were built up; but the whole work of reconstruction was never fully carried out, and much was left to chance or to time. The whole long line of ritual disputes which has descended from the Ornaments Rubric is the result of an attempt to water down regulation by practice; a little more readiness in Elizabeth's time to face the facts and act boldly would have saved later generations much strife. But behind and beyond these deficiencies of detail the great principles remained.

What were the alternatives to the Elizabethan scheme? There was, on the one hand, the papal obedience. Its acceptance would have meant a sharp separation between religion and many parts of the national life, a separation even greater than that seen elsewhere. It would have meant for England, as it has meant for other countries, a sacrifice of freedom in thought, in worship, and in church life, badly compensated by a gain of symmetry and uniformity under papal despotism. There would have been gain, of course, but there would have been heavier losses; and chief among them would have been that of the English episcopate with its growing ideal which promises so much to-day and for the future. There would have been meted to it the same measure which was dealt to the secular priests of Wisbeach, and to some national episcopates to-day. The Papacy could call to its help from the England of Elizabeth an enthusiasm which rose through heroism to martyrdom, the highest gifts of men in character and power; for we cannot rate too highly some of those who toiled in silence and died in shame. But by its maxims and its management it reduced this material to a dwindling sect, passing out of touch with the national vigour and the national hopes. Some part of this result was due to their persecution by the Government, but more was due to the deliberate choice of their papal leaders. Again we say that

the revolution which the Elizabethans wrought has been justified by its result. The result was a Church strong enough to weather the storm of the Civil Wars and the blight of the Hanoverian lethargy, to keep alive even to those evil days a spirit of religion in the nation at large.

But there was another alternative which was pressed for Elizabeth's acceptance—'the model of the best reformed churches abroad.' Here again there might have been some gain, but there would have been greater loss. The continuity of tradition, of history, of faith itself, means even more for religious bodies than it means for a man by himself; and these would have been lost. The religious anarchy of the Commonwealth, the narrow tyranny of Puritanism, the multiplied forces of Separatism, would have been upon us some fifty years earlier than they came; and there would have been no Church to combat them, and even after defeat to rise against them. If the Elizabethan leaders erred in one direction more than in another, it was in tenderness towards Puritanism; political interest, religious sympathies, sometimes pressed them to compromise. Had they gone further in that direction, their own problems would have been easier, but their children would have suffered. It was a sound instinct which led the leaders to see that a more elaborate and efficient administration, a code of law, was needed; but it was an equally sound instinct that led the bulk of Churchmen to reject the 'Reformatio Legum.' In their main outlines they built truly and well; and, if every detail was not attended to, none the less their building has stood. Each later generation that has had to repair and enlarge the walls seems to have entered more and more into the spirit of its Elizabethan forefathers. It is the reward of men who love the past and boldly face the present to shape the future and its growth.

J. P. WHITNEY.

Art. 5.—MUSIC AND DRAMA.

1. *My Life*. By Richard Wagner. English Translation. Two vols. London: Constable, 1911.
 2. *Musiciens d'Aujourd'hui: Musiciens d'Autrefois*. By Romain Rolland. Paris: Hachette, 1908.
 3. *Pelléas et Mélisande*. By Claude Debussy. Paris: Durand, 1902.
 4. *Salome: Elektra*. By Richard Strauss. Berlin: Fürstner, 1905, 1908.
 5. *Some Forerunners of Italian Opera*. By W. J. Henderson. London: Murray, 1911.
- And other works.

A PHILOSOPHER who is seeking for an illustration of the One in the Many will find it ready to his hand in the history of artistic criticism. The problems of art are innumerable; they press round us in such multitude that they often obscure our view of the artist; and yet, when all is said, they are only the transitory versions of one eternal problem—the relation of form and content, of expression and design. Is the main function of art to interpret reality and 'paint man man, whatever the issue,' or to create its own reality by presenting, through a chosen medium, some vision of ideal beauty? or may we believe that each of these is but a half truth, and that the highest achievement is to maintain them both in a due balance and equipoise which shall reconcile their conflicting claims without sacrifice and without concession? The extreme arguments on either side are familiar enough. The artist who fixes his attention on pure design stands in some danger of formalism, and even of conventionality; his work at the best may be coldly perfect, at the worst artificial and unmeaning. The insistence on expression and interpretation may be carried to a point at which beauty itself disappears. Dædalus, as the story goes, carved the legs of his statue with such fidelity to nature that it ran away in the night.

It is probable that in no field of art has the battle been more urgently or persistently fought than in that of the musical drama. At the end of the sixteenth century it

raged round the 'Nuove Musiche'; at the end of the seventeenth round Lully; in the latter part of the eighteenth round Gluck; in the latter part of the nineteenth round Wagner. On each occasion the ground of controversy was in all essentials the same. A past tradition had hardened until it was merely an obstruction and a hindrance; a reformer arose to clear it from the path and to vindicate for art the utmost freedom to proclaim what it would. The very terms of recrimination repeat themselves. 'Your old music,' says the attacking force, 'is so stereotyped that it has no longer any significance; it may give pleasure to the ear but it says nothing to the soul.' 'Your new music,' say the defenders, 'is mere violence and anarchy; it may express passions which, perhaps, were better left unexpressed, but it is false to the principles and ideals of its own cause.' Monteverde, Lully, Gluck, were assailed with the same charges of ugliness and bad musicianship which, thirty years ago, were brought against Wagner; they responded by building up a scheme of dramatic music upon which, for our own generation, Wagner has laid the coping-stone.

It is necessary to state this fact at the outset, because criticism, which in every age believes that its verdict is not only final but original, has too readily assumed that the real problem began with the publication of 'Oper und Drama,' and with the composition of 'The Ring.' Even Wagner himself, it may be said with deference, does insufficient justice to Gluck, and almost ignores the important part played by Lully. That he should do so is entirely natural. He was preoccupied with his own statement of the question; and of necessity the terms in which he stated it were different from those employed by his predecessors. He was in the thick of the arena, and may well have gazed more keenly on opponents than on allies. But now that the battle is over and the smoke has rolled away, it is possible to look back dispassionately on the whole course of events, to trace the ancestry of the Bayreuth idea, and, what is more important, to estimate in some measure its influence on the subsequent course of the musical drama.

Tolstoy, that uncompromising preacher of artistic truth, once declared that the musical drama was an untenable convention, and illustrated this doctrine with a

very unsympathetic description of 'Siegfried.' If we grant his premise, the conclusion is unanswerable. Assume that the drama is the direct representation of humanity, the mirror held up to nature, the faithful reflection of life which, if seen through a temperament, is nevertheless seen as it is, then it would seem to follow that a play in which music is the medium of the dialogue must of necessity be untrue. The drama which Plato feared for his Guardians, and would have feared still more if he could have foreseen 'The Powers of Darkness,' consists wholly of imitation; in modern terms it gives us human speech and action as we might expect to find them outside the theatre. In 'Hedda Gabler' and 'Die Weber,' in 'Strife' and 'Justice,' we are moved by the fidelity with which the dramatist sets living men and women upon the stage; the illusion (if we can call it an illusion) would be shattered by the ordered phraseology of music. But to take this as the type and pattern of dramatic truth is to prove far too much. It would rule out 'Faust,' for men do not speak in rhyme, and 'Othello,' for they do not speak in blank verse; it would close the doors of the theatre on almost all its greatest masterpieces. Let us examine the assumption from which this conclusion proceeds.

The origin of our drama is to be found in religious service. The Doric word, from which its name is derived, has a definitely ritual meaning; the earliest examples were choric songs and dances with a single episode, in which the poet, who was also the chorus-leader, improvised before the audience a story in honour of the god. These episodes were probably accompanied by mimetic or sympathetic gestures on the part of the chorus; they were wholly rhythmic in form; they were almost certainly in that heightened 'poetic' tone of which recitative and *aria parlante* are our modern equivalents. In course of time the episodes became more numerous, and so led to a rude dialogue between leader and chorus; then, as a later development, came the gradual introduction of actors and of scenic representation. And, long after these had become familiar, the ritual conception remained paramount. The plays were given at the Dionysiac Festival; the subjects were taken from the mythology of gods and

heroes ; * the altar stood at the centre of the orchestra ; more than half the principal seats were reserved for the priests. To this corresponded the whole character of the earlier Greek Tragedy. Æschylus, as Prof. Murray says, carried his theme on a great wave of religious emotion ; the characters are of more than human stature ; the style and phraseology are raised above the level of common speech. To an audience that felt these stories as an essential part of its religion the whole effect must have been comparable to that produced by the Christian Passion-play at Ober-Ammergau or the Mahommedan at Teheran. When we remember that in all countries music exercises a potent influence on religious emotion, there is little wonder that the very texture and fibre of Æschylean tragedy should have been saturated with it. The musical drama in short is not a perversion, not even an extension, of the dramatic idea, but the pure essence of its original form.

With Euripides there comes a change of aim which may very roughly be compared with the distinction between music-drama and opera. Whether we regard him as a rationalist or as 'the one religious man in an irreligious age'—and both views have been maintained—there can be no doubt that he humanised tragedy, and that in so doing he considerably modified the orthodox idea of his time. Contrast, for example, the three great presentations of 'Elektra' in Greek Tragedy. In Æschylus the human motive is almost ignored ; in Euripides it animates the whole play and sets the entire tone of its most dramatic scene. In Sophocles the counsel of the gods is not to be challenged ; Euripides not only challenges but condemns—his Orestes obeys the divine voice and is punished with all the bitterness of remorse. Hence in Euripides we are no longer sustained by the feeling of ever-present Godhead working out a divine purpose which we can neither judge nor comprehend ; that solace is denied us, and we are left face to face with the naked issues of human sin and human suffering. For this reason his tragedy would often be unendurably poignant—it is so, for instance, in 'The Trojan Women'—

* A few on 'historical' themes. But the only one of these which has survived—the 'Persæ'—is a sort of *Triumphlied* or *Te Deum* after victory.

unless he had alleviated it by passages of sheer music, points of repose in which we gain a momentary respite from such pity and such terror. So we have the Euripidean choruses—the 'interpolations,' as Aristotle calls them—which carry us far away from the stage, which sing to us the song of Cyprus or the song of the western seas, which bathe our souls in pure melody, and send us back to the scene quieted and refreshed. Music, in short, is here used not to intensify the dramatic note but to relax it; and from this usage important consequences were to follow.

Greek Comedy sat looser to the religious conception, for its purpose was largely a satiric portraiture of current life and current events. But Aristophanes always makes his appeal to patriotism, which at Athens was a second religion, and in more than one play shows himself fully conscious of his religious surroundings. The very licence of the 'Frogs' is, so to speak, under ecclesiastical sanction; it is the direct ancestor of the 'Messe de l'Âne' and the 'Fête des Fous'; and amid all its audacious burlesque this comedy contains two of the most beautiful hymns in the Greek language. Further, as Greek Comedy departs from ritual observance it becomes less musical: in the 'Plutus' the chorus is no more than a stage crowd; it is absent from the recovered scenes of Menander.

When, after the dark centuries, drama revived again in western Europe, it passed through very much the same stages of evolution. No doubt there were two convergent streams—that of the folk-drama with its mumming play, its May game and its morris dance; and that of the liturgical drama with the story of the Nativity for Christmas, the 'Quem quæritis' for Easter, and the cycle of mystery plays for Corpus Christi. But, though divergent, they both alike sprang from religious origins: the one from some primitive memory of nature-worship, the other so directly from the ritual of the Church that historians are unable to date the point of transition; and both were for the most part essentially musical in character. The dances had their rude accompaniment, the choral songs their rude melody; the ecclesiastical chant, already at a high pitch of organisation, announced the sacred message in melodic phrase and celebrated it with hymn and canticle. From

the former of these sprang the *Maggi* or May songs of the Tuscan peasants, which are at least as old as the fourteenth century. From the latter came, in direct succession, the *Sacre Rappresentazioni* and their kindred forms, which, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, appeared in Florence, in Mantua and in other Italian cities. The musical importance of these is discussed in an admirable essay by M. Romain Rolland,* and in the very interesting volume recently published by Mr W. J. Henderson. They deserve, indeed, some special consideration, for they anticipate by nearly two hundred years the music-drama which we usually associate with the name of Monteverde.

They were given on great festivals after Vespers. The scene was one of the Florentine churches—notably San Felice in Piazza—and was embellished with every form of decoration and stage device that the best artists and mechanicians could invent. Here is the description of a scene by Brunelleschi †:

‘Dans la voûte de l’église, un ciel, plein de figures vivantes, tournait; une infinité de lumières luisaient et scintillaient. Douze petits angelots, ailés, aux cheveux d’or, se prenaient par la main, et dansaient, suspendus. Au-dessus de leurs têtes trois guirlandes de lumières, d’en bas, paraissaient des étoiles. On eût dit qu’ils marchaient sur des nuages. Huit enfants groupés autour d’un socle lumineux descendirent ensuite de la voûte. Sur le socle était debout un petit ange d’une quinzaine d’années, solidement attaché par un mécanisme de fer invisible et assez souple pour lui laisser la liberté de ses mouvements. La machine une fois descendue sur la scène, l’ange alla saluer la Vierge et fit l’Annonciation. Puis il remonta au ciel, au milieu de ses compagnons qui chantaient, tandis que les anges du ciel dansaient dans l’air une ronde.’

The stories were taken from Holy Writ, or (occasionally) from the lives of saints, and were represented by dramatic action and by dialogues and speeches which, it would appear, were sometimes recited and sometimes sung. To quote again from M. Rolland:

‘Certaines parties de la pièce, d’un caractère traditionnel—Prologues (*Annunziazioni*), Epilogues (*Licenzi*), prières, etc.—

* ‘L’Opéra avant l’Opéra,’ in ‘Musiciens d’Autrefois.’

† ‘Musiciens d’Autrefois,’ pp. 26–28.

étaient sans doute chantées sur une cantilène spéciale. De plus, on intercalait dans la *Sacra Rappresentazione* des morceaux de caractères variés : soit des pages de liturgie régulière ou populaire (des "Te Deum" ou des "Laudi"), soit des chansons profanes et de la musique de danse, comme l'indiquent certains *libretti* : "Tel morceau doit être chanté comme les 'Vaghe montanine' de Sacchetti." Tel autre marqué : "bel canto." Ici, "Pilate répond en chantant *alla imperiale*." Là "Abraham tout joyeux dit une *Stanza a ballo*." Il y avait des chants à deux et à trois voix. Le spectacle était précédé d'un prélude instrumental, qui suivait le prologue chanté. On avait donc un petit orchestre ; et nous voyons mentionnés, ça et là, des violons, des violes et des luths.'

The intervals between the acts were filled with choruses and ballets of action, chosen apparently not for sheer contrast, as was the practice of eighteenth century opera, but with some bearing on the main issue. Thus we read of a chorus of huntsmen as intermezzo in the story of St Margaret ; and there would seem to be other instances of a similar kind.

It is difficult to see what element is here lacking. We have prologue and overture, orchestra and singers, the play presented in musical phrase,* and with scenic effects so elaborate that they could hardly be surpassed by Munich and Bayreuth. We may smile at the simplicity of the directions ; we may sometimes wonder at the incongruity of the designs ; but we cannot doubt that to the congregations which assembled to witness these dramas the simplicity was natural and the incongruity non-existent. They were religious offices as vivid as the Good Friday procession in a modern Italian town, and at least as intimate as, to an Athenian audience, the representation of 'Agamemnon' or 'Œdipus.'

In course of time the frank paganism which marked one side of the Renaissance invaded these ecclesiastical dramas and introduced among the most sacred subjects the triumphs of Cæsar and Trajan, and even the cars of Neptune and Venus. So, little by little, the scene shifted from church to palace, from Pius II to Beatrice d'Este and Ludovico Moro. About 1472 Politian wrote his 'Favola di Orfeo,' which Symonds describes as a true

* M. Rolland goes so far as to speak of 'un récitatif moulé sur la phrase parlée.' If this is correct, little was left for the moderns to invent.

lyric drama, and which Mr Henderson, who devotes to it nearly a third of his entire volume, places 'at the foundation of modern opera.'

'Poetically' (he says) 'it was the superior of any lyric work except, perhaps, those of Metastasio. Musically it was radically different from the opera as it was from the liturgical drama. But none the less it contained some of the germs of the modern opera. It had its solo, its chorus and its ballet. . . . It was distinctly lyric and secular, and was therefore as near the spirit of the popular music as any new attempt could well approach.'*

By the end of the century the change was complete; in 1502 five comedies of Plautus were given at Ferrara with ballets and '*choruses à l'antique*'; in 1518 came the '*Suppositi*' of Ariosto with an orchestra of 'fifes, bagpipes, cornetti, viols, and organ,' and a flute obligato 'which gave much delight to the company.' The whole form was growing artificial and courtly; music and spectacular display were gaining the upper hand; a direct way was being paved for the baroque opera of the seventeenth century.† As so often happens, this clash of ideals struck into existence a form which owed direct allegiance to neither—the Italian pastoral, of which Guarini's '*Pastor Fido*' is the best-known example, and Tasso's '*Aminta*' that of the chief historical importance. Indeed, Tasso deserves in this matter more than a passing mention. He was devoted to music, 'the soul of poetry' as he calls it; he deplored its misuse in mere tunefulness and sensual delight; he was the direct precursor of that Florentine revolution the originality of which has been somewhat over-estimated by musical historians. M. Rolland remarks on the significant fact that, at a famous performance of '*Aminta*' in 1590 Rinuccini and Emilio dei Cavalieri were both present.

Hence followed those meetings at Count Bardi's house in Florence, where Peri, Caccini, Rinuccini, Vincenzo Galilei and others proceeded to apply to secular art the reform which Cavalieri was furthering at St Philip Neri's Oratory in Rome. They had two antagonists to meet at

* '*Some Forerunners of Italian Opera*,' pp. 66, 67. See also pp. 90, 91.

† See Mr E. J. Dent's article on the Baroque Opera, '*Musical Antiquary*,' January 1910.

the same time. Learned music, as represented by the great contrapuntists, was bound by a system of elaborate and formal rules, admirably adapted to preserve its purity and dignity of utterance, but not sufficiently flexible to allow of its extension into the domain of the theatre; drama, transferred from ritual observance to courtly display, was treating music as a separate independent art which made its own appeal, gave its own pleasure, and year by year was breaking the last threads of connexion that bound it to the requirements of plot and character. The aim of the Florentine reformers was to set on the stage a music which should be wholly expressive and dramatic, should emancipate itself from all formal regulations, and follow without question or hesitation the lead of the poet.

Their method of effecting this was to recover, so far as they could, the principles of Greek Tragedy.* They were all scholars; they were all animated by that passion for Greek art which had spread through Italy since Chrysoloras came from Byzantium to lecture in the Florentine schools; in Peri's 'Euridice' and in Monteverde's 'Orfeo' they once more vindicated that absolute fusion of music and drama which, as tradition attested, had been wrought by the hand of Æschylus. And herein lay at once their strength and their weakness. Greek Tragedy gave them the noblest of models; on that score their choice could not have more happily fallen. But it gave them also a range of themes which had become cold and remote, and which, for at least a generation, had been associated in the public mind with pageantry and scenic display. To ancient Athens Orpheus was a national hero, to mediæval Florence he was the centre of a picturesque fairy-tale; and it needed more genius than these men possessed to relight the fire on that old and forgotten altar. They struck a gallant blow in the cause of freedom, and in so doing have earned an honourable place in the history of the art; but they had not the strength to consolidate a permanent victory; and, despite all their endeavours, Italy soon fell back from its new

* In comedy they moved with a more tentative step. Vecchi's 'Amfiparnasso' (1594), though very expressive and often very amusing, is a curious compromise between the methods of the stage and those of the madrigal.

ideals and accepted in their place the artificial pageants of the seventeenth century and the absurd pseudo-classicism of the eighteenth. It is significant that in 1644 Evelyn speaks of having seen at Rome an opera 'given by the architect Bernini'; it is not less significant that, some seventy years later, Addison summed up his experience of the Italian style by roundly asserting that 'music renders us incapable of hearing sense.'

Peri and Monteverde never reached the goal; and the art of their country turned aside from it. But they ran their stage in the race, and, when they ceased, handed the torch undimmed to a more powerful successor. Lully was born at Florence in 1633, was taken in early childhood to France, entered the royal service as violinist, and at the age of twenty was made Court composer, an office which he held until his death in 1687. His life in Paris coincided with the most splendid period of French Tragedy. 'The Cid' appeared in 1636, 'Horace' and 'Cinna' in 1640, 'Andromaque' in 1667, 'Iphigénie' in 1674, 'Phèdre' three years later. To a musician of true dramatic instinct there could have been no atmosphere more sustaining or more stimulating. For a time, no doubt, he was occupied with ceremonial duties, writing ballets and *divertissements*, many in collaboration with Molière, composing and arranging incidental music for 'M. de Pourceaugnac' and the 'Bourgeois Gentilhomme.' Yet even these he inspired with the same vigour with which Ben Jonson inspired the English Masque; indeed, with him they are not mere pageants or episodes, but studies and sketches for the finished picture to come. All this while, too, he was improving his technique, analysing the work of Cavalli the Venetian, borrowing somewhat unscrupulously from his French predecessor Cambert, taking his goods where he found them, and bringing his orchestra to a perfection hitherto unknown in Europe.

Thus, when in 1672 he began with Quinault that series of operas which has made him famous, he came to the work with full equipment—a master of virile melody and of harmony which in his day was considered audacious, a great conductor, a great disciplinarian, and, above all, a dramatist who was determined to give to music, as nearly as possible, the rhythm and inflection of the spoken word. He chose his opera-singers less for

their vocalisation than for their power of acting; he filled page after page of his score with free declamatory recitative, keeping the melodic stanza for special effects of lyric emotion. To him belongs in full measure the praise which Wagner bestows upon Gluck, that 'in his music he took pains to speak correctly and intelligibly.' 'Si vous voulez bien chanter ma musique,' he said, 'allez entendre la Champmeslé,' naming a famous actress of the Comédie Française who, we are told, had been taught every tone and every phrase by Racine himself.* So far, then, as concerns the important matter of a just and expressive recitation he marks an epoch in the history of the music-drama.

We may here pause for a moment to consider the point that has been reached. The religious impulse has for the time vanished altogether and has taken with it that particular need of dramatic music which it originally fostered and justified. In its place we have a form of secular tragedy, where the spoken voice is heightened by the musical medium, and the action emphasised and in some measure interpreted by musical accompaniment. This tragedy is not yet completely humanised; it still wears the pall and buskin; its characters, though we can recognise their image, are not of our mould and figure. The very titles are significant—'Atys' and 'Thésée,' 'Proserpine' and 'Bellerophon' and 'Roland'; the stage is set upon distant heights; the atmosphere is purer and more serene than our lower air. Yet, like Racine, Lully treats his heroes with true psychological insight, with less genius, of course, but with something of the same method and purpose; and the music which he employed as vehicle is no more of an intrusion than the Alexandrine couplet. It was entirely due to him that the French opera of his time '*appartenait*,' as M. Lanson says, '*à la littérature autant et presque plus qu'à l'art musical*'; and in this sentence we may find the explanation of his dramatic ideals.

* The converse of this statement throws some light on the rhythm of the 'classical' Alexandrine. If Lully's recitatives may be taken as an indication, its basis was far more 'anapestic' than 'iambic'—more like Byron's 'Destruction of Sennacherib' than the last line of a Spenserian stanza. Of course even then there were cross-rhythms; and since Victor Hugo ('*J'ai disloqué ce grand niais d'Alexandrin*') the pattern has been much altered.

The direct school of Lully failed through the docility of its scholars. His immediate followers were men of little talent, who copied his forms without a breath of his animating spirit, and soon wearied Parisian taste by mere insipidity. But his own operas continued to hold the stage, and some half-century after his death were uplifted as a party banner against a new and redoubtable antagonist.

Rameau was in many respects the exact opposite of Lully. His main interest lay in pure music, which he may even be said to have approached on its scientific side, for he began his career with a treatise on harmony. He wrote for the theatre by necessity rather than choice; and his first venture was so unsuccessful that he was with difficulty persuaded to continue. To the merits and demerits of his *libretti* he showed the most complete indifference; 'a composer of genius,' he said, 'will find all subjects equally suitable—qu'on m'apporte la Gazette de Hollande.' His great qualities are all essentially musical—striking effects of harmony and modulation, interesting points of orchestral colour, strength of melody for its own sake. The claims of the drama he held to be subservient; and even in his best opera, 'Castor et Pollux' he treated them with comparative disregard. With him, then, there comes a change of principle, a shifting of the centre of gravity. The dramatist recedes into the background; the stage becomes a concert-platform, adorned with scenery and action, but entirely controlled by the hand of the musician. Paris at once broke into a feud of Lullists and Ramists which lasted through the middle years of the century. On Rameau's side were novelty, some brilliance of invention, and a large and impressive rhetoric which he aided by considerably increasing the resources of chorus and orchestra. The partisans of Lully found valuable allies in the Encyclopædists and particularly in Rousseau, who has left an amusing account of the Académie de Musique under his enemy's directorship—the whole stage overwhelmed in a flood of musical grandiloquence, singers and orchestra straining in perpetual rivalry, and the conductor, from sheer despair, belabouring his desk 'like a wood-cutter.' In 1752 came the Bouffons; and the war blazed up with renewed violence. In 1764 Rameau died; in 1773 Gluck was invited from Vienna to Paris.

There is no need to repeat the well-known story* of Gluck's diplomacies and conflicts, of the vicissitudes of his campaign and the signal victory by which it was crowned. But it is worth while to quote from his own writings a statement of the cause for which he contended, since without this we are in danger of under-estimating the debt that we owe to him, and the curious resemblance between his position and that of music-drama in our own time. He is often judged as though his main object was that set forth in the famous preface to 'Alceste'—continuity of dramatic texture and a firm resistance to the unreasonable tyranny of the singers. But in his Parisian manifestoes he goes far beyond this. The first letter to the 'Mercure de France' gives the place of honour to his librettist Calzabigi, and continues with a sentence which reads like a direct challenge to Rameau :

'Quelque talent qu'ait le Compositeur, il ne fera jamais que de la musique mediocre si le Poète n'excite pas en lui cet enthousiasme sans lequel les productions des tous les Arts sont foibles et languissantes; l'imitation de la nature est le but reconnu qu'ils doivent tous se proposer; c'est celui auquel je tâche d'atteindre; toujours simple et naturel, autant qu'il m'est possible, ma musique ne tend qu'à la plus grande expression et au renforcement de la déclamation de la Poésie.'

Still more striking is his answer to La Harpe's criticism of 'Armide.' La Harpe had complained that the opera represented passions which were beyond the reach of music, which were in themselves so violent and unlovely that they could admit of no possible beauty in the expression. The heroine was 'not an enchantress but a sorceress'; her part was 'one monotonous cry'; there were no airs, and therefore no melodies, only a distressing cacophony forced upon a declamation which would have done better without it. Gluck replies :

'J'avois eu la simplicité de croire jusqu'à present qu'il en étoit de la Musique comme des autres Arts; que toutes les passions étoient de son ressort, et qu'elle ne devoit pas moins plaire en exprimant l'emporement d'un furieux et le cri de la douleur, qu'en peignant les soupirs de l'amour.'

" Il n'est point de serpent ni de monstre odieux
Qui par l'art imité ne puisse plaire aux yeux."

* It has been fully told by Mr Ernest Newman in his volume on 'Gluck and the Opera.'

Je croyois ce précepte vrai en Musique comme en Poésie. Je m'étois persuadé que le chant, rempli partout de la teinte des sentimens qu'il avoit à exprimer, devoit se modifier comme eux, et prendre autant d'accens différens qu'ils avoient de différentes nuances; enfin que la voix, les instruments, tous les sons, les silences mêmes, devoient tendre à un seul but qui étoit l'expression, et que l'union devoit être si étroite entre les paroles et le chant, que le Poème ne semblât pas moins fait sur la Musique que la Musique sur le Poème.'

Is it of Gluck we are reading or of Richard Strauss; of 'Armide' or of 'Elektra'? And if we so look back on the controversies of our predecessors, how, we may ask, will posterity look back upon ours? For, strangest of all, though the same war still continues, the old fortress has been abandoned by both combatants. To us, whichever side we take, the operas of Gluck are now classics; time has so softened their outlines and so mellowed their colouring that they stand to us as examples of pure beauty. We look for the dissonances that assailed the ears of La Harpe; we find harmonies which to us are as transparent as a mountain stream. We look for those outbursts of passion which made the eighteenth century weep and tremble; and we find passion indeed, but so exquisitely melodious that our emotion is too deep for tears.

So far we have considered music in its relation to Tragedy. Comedy is of wider range. It may glow with the imagination of Shakespeare or glitter with the wit of Congreve; it may be the incarnation of common sense like Molière or mere 'excellent fooling' like much of Labiche; it may cut its way by satire like Gogol's 'Inspector,' or, like Goldoni's 'Locandiera,' delight us by charm and daintiness. In the realm of Tragedy convention wearies and incongruity offends; Comedy has many outlying dependencies where incongruity is part of the fun, and convention passes unnoticed. Across their frontiers music can enter wherever it likes; they set no sentry to challenge it, and at their feast of laughter it is one of the most welcome guests.

Hence the rapid development, at this time, of Italian musical comedy. The Italian composers of the eighteenth century were not reformers; they worked, for the most

part, under exceedingly difficult conditions; and they accepted to the full that dangerous maxim that 'an art which lives by pleasing must please at once.' But while, in Tragic Opera, they abandoned all intellectual appeal and all seriousness of purpose, they found in *Opera Buffa* and *Intermezzo* forms exactly suited to their genius. These little pieces, light, dainty, playful, with just enough plot to hold them together and just enough characterisation to give point to the dialogue, represented without effort or fatigue their quick sensibility, their native charm, and their inexhaustible gift of tunefulness. It was these *Intermezzi* which the Bouffons brought to Paris, and in so doing created an entire school of French light opera. It was *Opera Buffa* which made the reputation of Gluck's unfortunate rival Piccini. Only in the nineteenth century did this form also degenerate, and become, in the hands of its most brilliant exponent, a mere 'handful of artificial flowers.'

It was their influence, together with that of Gluck, which trained the operatic style of Mozart. During his early days he was much in Italy; throughout his life he wrote many of his works to Italian *libretti*. In 1778 he visited Paris and arrived there in the middle of the Gluckist and Piccinist controversy. The first-fruits of this visit may be found in 'Idomeneo,' where the effects of Gluck's doctrine and example are beyond question. And, apart from 'La Clemenza di Tito,' which was written to order, all his operas after 'Idomeneo' are comedies.

To discuss these even in outline would carry us far beyond the limits of the present theme. It is enough to say that they represent artificial opera—opera as distinct from music-drama—at its best and highest. The set forms which would impede tragedy are here not hindrances but bowers of delight; the characterisation, though it never looks beyond the immediate scene, is wonderfully deft and skilful; the declamations flow like a stream; the melodies rise and hover and sparkle like a fountain. 'Die Zauberflöte' may be a satire or an allegory or a harlequinade; in any case it is a miracle of musical genius.

One more strand is waiting to be interwoven, in due time, with the general texture. Folk-drama began from humble origins, from village festival and rustic merry-

making; and some centuries elapsed before it found any settled place in a polite and civilised art. Indeed, one of the earliest attempts to put folk-music on the operatic stage was 'The Beggar's Opera,' an intentional burlesque; and it was probably the remarkable success of this work which brought the form into vogue. Through the eighteenth century it gradually advanced in skill and favour, growing more and more oblivious of its ancestry, more and more concerned with local stories and the humours of country life, its simple lyric melodies derived or imitated from the songs of the people. So arose Hiller in Leipsic, Dittersdorf in Vienna, Shield and Attwood in London; so at a later stage of development came Weber and glorified the national music of Germany with 'Der Freischütz.'

Had Weber possessed more of the dramatist's instinct he might have anticipated by nearly half a century the reforms of Richard Wagner. But his allegiance, like that of Beethoven, was on the side of music. 'Fidelio' is really an impossible compromise, a monument of symphonic style, which, except for one superb scene, never strikes the spectator as dramatic. And the same, with due modification, may be said about the work which Weber intended for his masterpiece. 'Euryanthe' is ruined not only by a bad *libretto*, but by the conflict of two incompatible ideals. As Wagner sums it up:

'Never, so long as Opera has existed, has there been composed a work in which the inner contradictions of the whole *genre* have been more consistently worked out, more openly exhibited, by a gifted, deeply-feeling and truth-loving composer, for all his high endeavour to attain the best. These contradictions are: absolute, self-sufficing melody, and unflinchingly true dramatic expression. Here one or the other must necessarily be sacrificed—either Melody or Drama. Rossini sacrificed the Drama; the noble Weber wished to reinstate it by force of his more judicious melody. He had to learn that this was an impossibility. Weary and exhausted by the troubles of his "Euryanthe," he sank back upon the yielding pillow of an oriental fairy-dream; through the wonder-horn of Oberon he breathed away his last life's-breath.'*

Where Weber failed it was not for any other Romantic composer to succeed. Berlioz's 'Cellini' was hissed off

* 'Oper und Drama,' pp. 86, 87: Mr. Ashton Ellis's translation.

the stage, Schumann's 'Genoveva' withdrawn after three performances; Spohr, safe in his fastness at Cassel, tried a few ingenious experiments, but they came to nothing; for a time it looked as though true art would abandon the opera-house and leave it to the rhetoric of Meyerbeer and the tinkle of Donizetti's guitar. Once more the musicians were 'treating as an end what should only be treated as a means,'* and in so doing were displacing the artistic balance. The only hope of restoring it lay in the advent of a man who should be primarily a dramatist, but to whom music should be a natural means of expression; who should approach the problem from the dramatic side, yet with such mastery of music as should make it subservient to his purpose.

Wagner's autobiography tells us at first hand how this hope was fulfilled. It is not altogether a pleasant book; there are many details of private life which do not concern us, and would have been better omitted; but, as an account of his artistic career, the work is one of absorbing interest. Some of it has been anticipated in his earlier writings,† but in none of them is the story told with such wealth of incident or such candour of self-revelation—the schoolboy who played truant to write a great Shakespearean tragedy, and justified himself on the ground that he had been placed in a class below his merits; the university student with a drawer full of immature compositions and an overwhelming passion for Beethoven; the theatrical experience at Magdeburg and Riga; the struggling, starving days at Paris; the brief period of official dignity at Dresden; then revolution and exile full of stormy treatises and projects of new work; and so the story closes when King Louis of Bavaria sends his equerry with that offer of freedom and competence to which we owe Bayreuth and all that it has brought us. One point of interest emerges from the volumes with special clearness—the extent to which Wagner, when he had once determined the nature of his message, foresaw the successive stages in which it was to be delivered. It is well known that 'Die Meistersinger' was sketched,

* See 'Oper und Drama,' Introduction.

† Notably in 'Eine Mittheilung an meine Freunde.'

twenty-two years before the completion of the work, at the time that he was making the arrangements for the production of 'Tannhäuser.' It is not so well known that the idea of 'Parsifal' was conceived at the same time, and that the *scenario* was written during the intervals of 'Siegfried.'

This is the more noticeable because Wagner's dramatic work traces back the history of the art almost continuously from the point at which he received it. We have seen the music-drama begin with religion, change to the conflict of motives and the presentation of human tragedy, develop for a short time into folk-legend, and finally lose itself in the sands of dramatic convention. Wagner reversed this order. He began by adopting the current conventions. In 'Rienzi,' for example, Adriano's song is not better than Bellini; 'Santo Spirito Cavalieri' is not much better than Meyerbeer; the whole substance of the music is like amateur's work, filling with immense enthusiasm and vitality the accepted formulas of its time. Then came the period of folk-legend, with 'The Flying Dutchman' for initiative and 'Tannhäuser' and 'Lohengrin' for completion. Wagner has told us in full detail how he hesitated between 'Tannhäuser' and 'Manfred,' and for what reason he abandoned the 'historical grand opera in five acts' which he had already sketched, and took in its place 'that very essence of the folk-poem' which had been brought to his notice in a popular ballad. No doubt he treated these national subjects in his own manner, and his own manner was not that of Weber; but none the less he was feeling his way through nationalism to the most intimate and central emotions of mankind. It is not for nothing that, in the oration which celebrated the transference of Weber's body to Dresden, he spoke of the composer of 'Der Freischütz' as 'the most German of musicians.'

Then the stage widens for the larger tragedies of mankind; the immortal passion of 'Tristan,' the fundamental problems of right and justice in 'The Ring.' Then follows 'Die Meistersinger,' the greatest of musical comedies, a triumphant vindication of love and art which is as well illustrated by the conflict of Beckmesser and Walther as Aristophanes' patriotism is illustrated by the conflict of Æschylus and Euripides. So the course winds

upwards from 'frivolity'* and spectacular display to national legend, from national legend to the great epic mythology in which human life is symbolised, and to the service of art by which it is ennobled, until at last the summit is attained in the Eucharistic feast of 'Parsifal.' Throughout the whole of his work the animating force is love. 'I cannot think of music except as love,' he says—love which is born amid the beauty and goodness of earth and soars flight above flight to the mystic contemplation of eternal beauty and eternal goodness.

With such an inspiration it is little wonder that he has moved the hearts of men. We may grant much that has been said against him—occasional roughness of style, occasional poverty of technique, the faults that follow from a hasty education and an imperfect equipment. His verse can no more stand beside Goethe's than his tunes beside those of Schubert; he is 'not great as they are, point by point'; the work of his early manhood sometimes falls into commonplace; that of his maturity is sometimes heavy and slow of movement. Yet even here the *advocatus diaboli* cannot pass unanswered. Where Wagner's technique is strong it is irresistible. No man before his time ever showed such supreme mastery of orchestral colour. No man except Beethoven has ever compressed his thoughts into such clear, incisive musical phrase. If the stanza-tunes are sometimes ill-rhymed, they are more than compensated by that wonderful diffused melody which overflows the stanza and is the more beautiful for its lack of restriction. If the verse is often unmemorable, at any rate we do not forget the characters that speak it or the scenes in which it is uttered. And, further, it may be urged that to try Wagner by these analytic tests is to judge him on a false issue; the limitations may be real, but they are irrelevant. The sole ground on which Wagner's work can be rightly appraised is its effect in the theatre; and on this ground the verdict of posterity is assured. As the great dramas unroll before us, we have no thought of criticism or analysis; we let ourselves be carried away by the swelling

* 'My path led first to utter frivolity in my views of art,' says Wagner in 'Eine Mittheilung an meine Freunde,' which, it will be remembered, was written to serve as a preface to 'The Flying Dutchman,' 'Tannhäuser,' and 'Lohengrin,' and to explain their place in his general scheme.

and limitless billows, by the 'unfathomable speech which leads us to the edge of the Infinite and lets us for moments gaze into that.'

Before we proceed to discuss the extent of Wagner's influence on the subsequent history of the stage it may be well to consider a form which, at most, fell but indirectly within its range. During the mid-century romantic opera was running an undistinguished course, often deft and picturesque, but of very little importance. To compare Goethe's 'Faust' with Gounod's is to understand why music is sometimes treated disrespectfully by men of letters. But a seed of Weber's sowing was wafted to remote lands, and in course of time grew up and bore fruit. The older Russian composers were passionate adherents of Weber; the younger learned from him the lesson of a folk-opera, based on national legend, and saturated with national melody. Such an opera is 'Boris Godunov,' by that great and wayward genius, Moussorgsky. In the first act an entire scene is built from a peasants' hymn;* and almost every subsequent melody is either gathered from the folk-songs or a close imitation of their manner. Borodin's 'Prince Igor,' too, is saturated with national idiom, employed on a weaker theme than Moussorgsky's, but with greater musical ability. In more recent times Bruneau has used folk-songs for his charming opera 'Le Rêve' with special appropriateness to a simple story of French country life. But the finest example of all is Georges Bizet, whose 'Carmen,' produced in 1875, shows to what splendid purpose a romantic play can be adorned with national colour and national rhythm. It does not rival the Wagnerian dramas, though many critics, Nietzsche included, have declared that it surpasses them; but it holds an honourable place by the side of 'Der Freischütz.'

Wagner's influence may be traced back at least as early as Boito's 'Mefistofele' (1868), which in its turn profoundly affected the later works of his friend and collaborator, Verdi. As might be expected, the musician

* 'Praise to thee, O God, in the heavens.' It is this tune which Beethoven used in the second Rasumovsky quartet. Moussorgsky employs it for a chorus of welcome to the Tsar.

preponderates; but in 'Aïda' the change of ideal is evident, and in 'Otello' and 'Falstaff' it is almost complete. There is some interest in observing that among the followers of the 'new music' Italy led the way. 'How Wagner seems to have stricken these Italians,' complains Meredith's Victor Radnor; and he adds, with the sigh of all musical conservatism, 'I held out against Wagner as long as I could.'

But among all who carried on the Wagnerian tradition by far the most momentous is Richard Strauss. His 'Guntram' first revealed the dramatist on whom the mantle of Wagner has fallen; his two light comedies carry it off with something of a rakish air, as though they had studied their pose from Don Juan; in 'Salome' and 'Elektra' he sets himself to carry to their furthest conclusion those principles of 'unflinching dramatic expression' which 'Oper und Drama' had upheld.

In discussing 'Salome' we must begin by conceding the assumption that the subject of a drama may be taken, and even rehandled, from Holy Writ, an assumption which is difficult to traverse in face of such names as Racine and Alfieri. If this be granted, the next point to consider is whether the treatment is worthy of the theme; whether it convinces us as we are convinced by 'Saul' and 'Athalie.' The plot is undeniably dramatic. An Eastern princess is fascinated—half shudder, half desire—by one of her father's captives. She approaches him, is repulsed, turns to hatred, and demands his life as a penalty. Her father, who regards his prisoner with an uneasy superstitious awe, is forced to a reluctant assent, sees her gloating over her victim in horrible triumph, and at breaking-point of revulsion orders his guards to crush her under their shields.

It is a subject for a great tragedy; but to make the tragedy great two things would seem to be requisite. It must be swift of movement, since it passes over places on which it is not good to dwell; it must never mar its tragic intensity by commonness of phrase, still less by risking that fatal step which lies beyond the confines of the sublime. In neither of these respects does Strauss' 'Salome' rise to the height of its purpose. It is sometimes trivial; it is almost always slow in action. The love-scene is unduly prolonged by an indefensible attempt

to show the same change of feeling three times consecutively. The scene with Herod is unduly prolonged; we grow weary of the catalogue of treasures and the reiterated phrases in which they are successively refused. Worst of all, the closing tirade, which on all grounds alike of good taste, right feeling, and dramatic propriety should have been cut to the quick, is spread out through page after page of hysteric passion enforced by every device of stress and emphasis that the composer has at his command.*

The probable explanation is that in Oscar Wilde's play, from which, with a few cuts, the 'book' of Strauss' opera is faithfully translated, the treatment of the theme is artificial. The style is not Wilde's own; it is borrowed from Flaubert and Maeterlinck and the Song of Solomon. The speeches are deliberate exercises in the beautiful or the fantastic or the *macabre*; and in lashing them with this music of violence and passion Strauss has attempted an impossible task. There are some passages of fine stirring declamation, notably in the part assigned to Jochanaan; there are a few moments of languorous beauty, a few touches of psychological subtlety; yet the chief impression which is left on us at the end is one of strain and distaste.

But in 'Elektra' Strauss has come to his full strength. The whole drama is in its kind a masterpiece, grim, forcible, vivid, full of vehement contrasts, yet possessing organic unity, holding from first to last the attention of the spectator enthralled. Every phrase is instinct with meaning; every action is swift and inevitable; throughout the whole stormy course we are carried on a torrent which we are powerless to resist. The character of Elektra is a wonderful study of revenge, inspired by loyalty, embittered by suffering and despair, poisoned at the last to sheer madness. Across her path come, one by one, the sombre figures of her life's tragedy—Chrysothemis, weak and selfish, born to fail in the hour

* 'With his keen sense of the theatre, Wilde would never have contrived the long speech of Salome at the end of a drama intended for the stage' (Mr Robert Ross in the preface to Wilde's 'Salome'). Mr Ross adds some very pertinent remarks about critics who, having objected to the 'incident of horror' in the drama, witnessed with uncontrolled delight the same incident on the music-hall stage.

of need ; Clytemnestra, livid with long nights of sleepless terror, hung with amulets that have lost their efficacy, driven to seek aid even from the victim that she has persecuted ; Orestes the avenger, welcomed with all the pent-up joy of a love that has had no outlet, a love which after its moment of pure passion grows lurid with the fire of a baleful purpose ; last of all, Aegisthus, the maiden-faced, paying in helpless agony the long debt of treachery and murder. Among all these Elektra pursues her undeviating way. Her great lament for Agamemnon contains already a presage of the day of vengeance to come. She is wholly in Clytemnestra's power, yet she meets her with taunts and defiance. News comes that Orestes is dead ; when disbelief seems no longer possible, she turns to Chrysothemis—'Sister, then you and I.' Chrysothemis shrinks back—'Alone then.' When Orestes makes himself known, the revulsion of feeling is too great to bear ; the chord snaps, and as she waits quivering at the door you know that the madness is upon her. It shows in the fierce cry, 'Strike once again' ; it shows in the terrible irony with which she greets Aegisthus ; it nerves her for the sacrificial dance, as of some wild priestess dancing before the altar of the avenging gods ; and at the height of her triumph she falls dead.

In Strauss' music, as in von Hoffmansthal's play, the tension is never for an instant relaxed ; indeed, all the different arts are here so fused together that it may seem idle to consider any one of them in isolation. But a few words may be said about the musical texture, partly because it has been somewhat misjudged by critics of repute, partly because it may serve, for our time, as one answer to the central problem of the music-drama. Strauss has been charged with sacrificing the art to which before all others he owes allegiance, with writing music which is not musically intelligible, which is a mere jargon of disorganised sounds, in itself unmeaning and incoherent. Surely, it is urged, no plea of dramatic expression can justify the entire dislocation of the laws of musical style.

The answer is that there is no dislocation ; the laws of style are fully wide enough to include all that Strauss has here accomplished. We are not children to be frightened by dissonances ; 'everything depends,' as

Mr Newman says, 'on whether they can be resolved into a higher harmony,' whether they fit their context, whether they prove part of an intelligible sentence. And it may be submitted that in this music the sentences are always deeply significant. No doubt there are some puzzling passages; the cry with which Elektra recognises her brother is in a new idiom; it uses words with which we are unfamiliar. But they serve their own purpose, they convey their own meaning; and, if they are at present 'super grammaticam,' the business of grammar is to overtake them. It ought to be stimulated by the discovery of chords which even Macfarren could not have attributed to the dominant thirteenth. Some are neologisms of which we cannot yet see the ancestry or derivation; it depends upon Strauss whether they take their place in the accepted vocabulary of the art. Others—among them one which has been most in dispute—are the lineal descendants of the harmonies of Mozart and Beethoven, and but claim for their own generation the liberty that has been won by their forefathers. In any case discords are unimportant; it is the texture that matters; and this web is of a master's weaving.

We have travelled far enough from 'Parsifal'—from the vision of the Grail and the choring voices of adoration; and to the heights of 'Parsifal' Strauss has not yet attained. But his drama is the direct continuation of Wagner, not only in technique—that is obvious enough—but in its main conception of tragedy. In 'Elektra,' as in 'The Ring,' the central idea is conflict, the clash of wills, the crown of victory. Siegfried overcomes the very gods, and his death is an apotheosis. Elektra, shattered at the moment of her triumph, achieves it nevertheless by her single-hearted overmastering force of purpose; her hatred is the shadow of her love and her death the price of her triumph.

This is the drama of a strong, vigorous, conquering race, a race which sets the highest value on human will and impulse, which is great in attack, great in enterprise, sweeping away all obstacles, bearing down all opposition. Its exact antithesis would be an art which is reserved and reticent, which expresses itself in faint colours and half-tones, which looks upon emphasis as a danger and upon exaggeration as a crime. In such a drama character-

isation is tempered and action held in check; there is no vehemence, no outcry; its qualities are gentleness of tone and an exquisite perfection of craftsmanship. The Wagnerian drama is like that of Shakespeare, a full-blooded, lusty giant; the other turns aside to the quieter, more restrained methods of Racine. Hence it is fitting that a countryman of Racine should have headed the most definite revolt against Wagner which the music of the theatre has witnessed in our time. As M. Rolland says:

'Pour nous, ce que nous avons le droit d'affirmer, c'est que le drame wagnérien ne répond en rien à l'esprit français—ni à son goût artistique, ni à sa conception du théâtre, ni à son tempérament musical. Il a pu s'imposer par conquête, il a pu —il peut encore—dominer l'esprit français par le droit du génie victorieux; rien ne peut faire qu'il ne soit et ne reste un étranger chez nous.'*

And again later:

'On ne comprend que trop la révolte de l'esprit français, au nom du naturel et du goût, contre toutes les exagérations et les outrances de la passion—vraie ou fausse. "Pelléas et Mélisande" fut comme le manifeste de la révolte. Il réagit avec intransigeance contre toute emphase, contre tout excès, contre toute expression qui dépassé la pensée. Cette répugnance à l'égard des paroles et des sentiments exagérés va même jusqu'à la peur de livrer ce qu'on sent quand on est le plus ému. Les passions se disent à mi-voix.'*

There could be no better indication of the standpoint from which 'Pelléas et Mélisande' is written. It is in no sense undramatic, but it is drama seen through a veil, now grey, now faintly iridescent, behind which the characters move almost as unconsciously as the figures of a dream. The plot unfolds in due sequence and proportion; there is not a line wasted or a gesture misplaced; but it is all very far away, and its remoteness gives it a subtle and indefinable charm. The music is soft and caressing; the voices rarely move beyond a narrow compass of notes; the orchestra is kept within a scheme of low values and delicate shades. Instead of the *leit-motif* we have fugitive points of colour, touching each sentiment as it

* 'Musiciens d'Aujourd'hui,' pp. 198, 199.

passes ; instead of Wagner's complex polyphony, we have harmonies which are chosen for their hue, not for their texture ; instead of a declamation which enforces and emphasises, there is a whisper which breathes into the poet's lines a more ethereal spirit of poetry.

Such an art cannot be wholly representative of the nation that has given us Berlioz and Hugo, the luxuriance of 'Les Trois Mousquetaires' and the warm vivid colouring of 'Carmen.' But it represents one side of the French artistic temper—its measure, its clarity, its chastity of honour which feels a stain like a wound. Debussy's music is too fragile for insistence ; it is woven of dew and gossamer, the fabric of a vision which would be destroyed by a clumsy grasp. It is not made for heroism, for the stress of conflict and the large air and the epic majesty of outline ; it has not the splendour of romance which will risk everything upon a single throw ; it calls the drama back to the service of pure beauty, and in that service it finds its justification and its reward.

The problem, like all artistic problems, remains therefore unsolved ; indeed, if it could be solved, it would prove itself valueless. All that we can do is to state for our own time the manner in which the great artists have approached it, and to appraise them by the canons which they have themselves supplied. It is clear that no common measure can at present be set to the ideals of Strauss and Debussy, to the music of 'Pelléas' and that of 'Elektra' ; they stand poles asunder ; they admit, so far as we can see, no point of union. But each has in its own way shown how the music-drama can enrich its theme ; and it is possible that the ways may after all converge. The day may come when men will regard Strauss as we regard Gluck, and see in Debussy the lineal heir of Mozart. The day may come when a greater than either shall arise and show us that these ideals are not incompatible ; that the poignancy of the one and the exquisiteness of the other may be resolved into a fuller and nobler art that shall absorb them both. The dream perhaps was realised by Greek Tragedy ; it may be realised again.

W. H. HADOW.

Art. 6.—THE EPISTOLÆ OBSCURORUM VIRORUM.

1. *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum : The Latin Text with an English Rendering, Notes, and an Historical Introduction.* By Francis Griffin Stokes. London : Chatto and Windus, 1909.
2. *Die Verfasser der Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum (Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Kulturgeschichte der Germanischen Völker, xciii).* By Walther Brecht. Strassburg : Trübner, 1904.
3. *Ulrichi Hutteni Eq. Operum Supplementum. Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum cum inlustrantibus adversariisque scriptis.* Coll. rec. adnot. Edvardus Böcking. Two vols. Leipzig : Teubner, 1864-9.

WHAT, we wonder, would the writers—both the real and the pretended—of the ‘*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*’ have said to the publication of an English version of these famous productions? The sapient monks and theologians who figured as the signatories of the original letters, the unlearned scribes who wrote down Sallust a poet and believed that Suetonius composed Cæsar’s ‘*Commentaries*,’ since Cæsar himself could not have found time to learn Latin, would hardly have credited such a linguistic achievement, or, like one of them, Petrus de Wormatia, who did not wish, in addition to the Latin Homer, to see the other Homer in Greek of which he had remotely heard, would have preferred not to be troubled with it. The real authors of the ‘*Epistolæ*,’ the scholars militant whose ruthless satire raised such a potholer over the heads of the anti-Reuchlinists that this charge of light horse virtually, though not actually, closed the battle, could not but have been pleased by such a mark of recognition, especially as the very first edition of the first volume of the Letters had (probably through Richard Croke, then lecturing on Greek at Leipzig) been received with applause in England. But it may be questioned whether they would have thought the compliment as happy as it was well meant. Mr Stokes, an accomplished scholar, has (as his preface shows) insight and sense of humour enough to have made him fully aware of the difficulties of the task which he imposed upon himself. But he was determined to face

them on the strength of his belief that, far from 'the humour and satiric force of the Epistolæ' depending 'mainly on the droll vileness of their Latinity' . . . 'the edge of the satire could not wholly be blunted even by the crudest translation.' Even, however, if this were so, the shallowness, the density, and the vindictive insolence which were the real subject of the satire cannot, without a deplorable loss of effect, be separated from the pedantry, the banality, and the gross rudeness of the form in which they were intentionally clothed.

The genius of translation, and not the least of English translation, is protean, and has exercised itself, not without some success, upon the genial extravagance of Rabelais and the subtle irony of Montaigne. But we doubt whether it could in any case succeed in assimilating to the texture of any modern language but the German vernacular of the Obscure Ones the 'blend' between this and 'culinary' Latin that makes up much of their unconscious fun. In a German version (though we believe such an attempt has been made) the joke would be spoilt in a different way. It may be possible to translate their expetives and their queer asseverations and phrases; * but how reproduce in our tongue the laughable effect of the use of *unus* as an indefinite article ('et dedit ei unum Knipp,' i, 5); or the use of *semel* in the vague fashion of the German *mal* (*einmal*); or the rendering of *dass*, in whatever way the conjunction is employed, by *quod*; or the employment of *mittere* as a quasi-auxiliary like the German *lassen* or the Anglo-Irish *let*? The formulas of academical speech, of logical disputation in particular, are more easily transferred, and are, for instance, so introduced, in ridicule of themselves, in the Elizabethan drama. On the other hand, the element of obscenity is almost an integral one in the comic literature of the Renaissance, as it had been in that of the Middle Ages; and in the Epistolæ it asserts itself with the cynical relish of monastic whisperings and the boisterous unconcern of students' talk. Mr Stokes, who professes himself unable to be very angry with his 'saucy simpletons,' is at pains to paraphrase or otherwise water down 'instances' of

* 'Vel est damnum quod vivo' (i, 26); 'vel non sum ex legitimo thoro natus' (i, 42); 'valeatis per tot annos quot vixit Matusalem' (ii, 14).

this description, with the result of utterly puzzling the reader who refrains from turning to the original.

Finally, he should have remembered that the Obscure Ones, though in one sense, no doubt, they are innocent of style, yet, in another, have a style of their own. It consisted of a conjunction of what he calls the 'pseudo-vernacular' Latin of their day with the pedantic usage of the Schools, the facetiously-coloured Latinity of the academical 'quodlibets' and of other comic literature of the age, and the sober but inelegant Latin of the Vulgate. All this is flavoured with an extra dose of bad grammar ('istæ poetæ') and impossible syntax ('dedi unum carlinum pro'), and soured in the flat pedestrianism of speech common to the vulgar of all times and tongues, especially when they write letters. Mr Stokes renders this peculiar compound in what may be described as the English of our own day, interspersed at random with Elizabethan or other earlier fragments of speech, with a word or two of Latin or German and (as of course was in the circumstances unavoidable) with passages from our English Bible, which by their nobility contrast strangely with their nondescript surroundings. On the other hand, we should be sorry not to acknowledge that these letters are throughout translated with a clear insight into the significance of every part of the text, while some of them are reproduced with much spirit; as, for instance, the well-known exordium which contains a protracted play on the word *scribere*.* Even among the verse translations, which with their macaronic mixture generally fail to convey much notion of the formless *Knittelverse* of the originals—'what have I to do with feet,' asks Wilhelmus Storch of Deventer (ii, 27); 'I am not a heathen poet but a theological'—the elegy beginning 'Old Finck is dead' (ii, 54) deserves some praise, albeit 'right Corsic' is a rather dark rendering of 'Corsica vina.'

Mr Stokes has added to the original text, which precedes in this handsome volume his English version of the 'Epistolæ,' a series of notes 'mainly intended for readers who have made no special study of the period involved,' and taken largely from the extra volumes of what he rightly describes as Böcking's 'monumental edition of

* i, 15. The device is repeated with the catchword 'stimulus' in i, 32.

Hutten's works,' though supplemented from the stores of the editor's own learning. He has further written a useful but far from exhaustive introduction, in which he signifies his general assent to the conclusions reached by Brecht, following up the suggestions of previous writers, as to the authorship of these Epistles. To these conclusions, which may be regarded as finally settling the question, we shall return.

Almost the earliest German University* to feel the direct influence of Italian humanism was Erfurt, where the arrival of the first 'poets' who leavened the lump of German academical teaching may be traced back to the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Erfurt, whose relations to the religious movement begun by Huss had at first seemed so marked as to give rise to the proverbial phrase, 'Erforda Praga,' did not ultimately pass beyond a strong sympathy with the ideas of the Reformers, and a corresponding antipathy to Rome and her adherents. On the other hand, the University, by the last decade of the fifteenth and the opening years of the sixteenth centuries, had become an avowed home of humanistic studies. This growing reputation was established on a broader and more enduring basis in Erfurt's greatest period, which may be reckoned from about 1505 to about 1520, and is identified with the name of Mutianus Rufus (Conrad Muth), the 'tranquil' Canon of Gotha, to whom (as is often the case) a body of scholars in the neighbouring University, in many instances more active and productive than himself, looked up as their intellectual leader. It was in Mutian's circle, there can be no doubt, that the conception of the 'Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum' first took rise, though, as will be seen, it was not at Erfurt itself that either the first or the second series of the letters was actually indited.

Reuchlin, round whom the contention blazed, was not himself cast in an heroic mould; on the other hand, neither was he one of those men of letters (or science) who are addicted to posing as martyrs to the cause, actual or pretended, of freedom or light or progress.

* The earliest of all was Heidelberg, where Peter Luder let his light fitfully shine from 1456 to 1460, when he quitted his native Palatinate to try his fortunes at Erfurt and Leipzig.

But there are crises in literary, as well as in scientific, history, the significance of which needs no writing on the wall, and in which the name of a man of true metal becomes the fit symbol of a struggle for the right. The conflict between Reuchlin and the Reuchlinists on the one side, and the Cologne Dominicans, with their shameless agent and their unlucky mouthpiece on the other, was thus something more than a controversy conducted on the part and on behalf of a leading scholar of his age, the man of three—or, as he himself loved to say, of five—tongues, against the upholders of what was utterly dry and dead in the learning and teaching of contemporary Germany. The principle of toleration, clearly enunciated by Reuchlin, was recognised to be at stake by every friend of freedom and of that justice which is the foundation of freedom; and posterity, by the mouths of such men as Lessing and Goethe, has approved this interpretation of the struggle and its issue.

It was, of course, his Hebrew studies, and more especially his interest in the Cabbalah—the theosophic commentaries which from about the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. began to discuss the doctrinal essence of the Old Testament—which involved Reuchlin in the great quarrel concerning the books of the Jews. The cause of the famous controversy of which the ‘*Epistolæ*,’ though they cannot be said to have materially contributed to its issue, form an enduring literary monument, has been frequently narrated, and is summarised in his introduction by Mr Stokes. The monstrous demand raised by Johannes Pfefferkorn, a Jewish convert to Christianity (Mr Stokes, rather oddly, calls him ‘renegade’), in his ‘*Judenspiegel*’ (1507) that the Jews should be deprived of their books as the chief cause of their perversity, had been accompanied by further proposals of persecution, and was ultimately extended to a cry for their expulsion from the Empire, where, it must be remembered, they were still without legal rights. But, in the first place, everything turned upon the Jewish books. After obtaining, in August 1509, an Imperial mandate ordering all the Jews in the Empire to give up to him, in the presence of the priest and two official laymen, all their books directed against the Christian faith or ‘running counter to their own law,’ Pfefferkorn had attempted

to secure the services of Reuchlin, the only competent Hebrew scholar in Germany, in the drawing-up of a list of books to be confiscated. But Reuchlin had refused; and Pfefferkorn had to proceed on his own account. The raid on Jewish books which he hereupon made at Frankfort led to the intervention of the Archbishop of Mainz, and, after various moves and countermoves, to another Imperial mandate (May 1510) commanding the restoration of the books confiscated at Frankfort, Mainz, and several other Rhenish towns 'until further orders.' In the following July the Emperor ordered the Archbishop to require written opinions on the whole question raised by Pfefferkorn from the four Universities of Cologne, Mainz, Erfurt and Heidelberg, and from certain persons of note. These last included, together with Reuchlin and the priest Victor von Karben (according to Mr Stokes a converted rabbi) as Hebrew 'specialists,' the redoubtable Dominican, Jacob von Hochstraten or Hoogstraten (a Brabanter by birth), who exercised the office of 'Ketzermeister' under the Inquisition at Cologne, and whose functions ultimately expanded into the supervision of aberrations from the faith in the three archiepiscopal provinces of Cologne, Mainz and Trier.*

It is at this point that the famous controversy between Reuchlin and his supporters on the one side, and the Cologners on the other, really opens. The Universities of Cologne and Mainz, with whom Hochstraten and the priest Victor von Karben agreed, were in favour of taking away all the books, or, at any rate, all except the Old Testament; while the University of Heidelberg temporised, and Erfurt opined in favour of leaving to the Jews all their books but those which abused or falsified the Christian faith. Reuchlin's opinion, however, went to the root of the matter. For all the Jewish books (except a very few—he mentioned only two—manifestly blasphemous and forbidden among themselves), that is to say, for the Talmud, the Cabbalah, the commentaries on the Old Testament in general, the sermons and hymns of the Jews, and their non-theological writings, he claimed complete toleration. These books contained no attacks

* 'M. Jacobus Hochstraten hereticometra' appears as author of one of the books with bogus titles in the library of St Victor, in 'Pantagruel,' chap. vii.

upon the Christian faith; that they did not acknowledge its cardinal doctrine, the divinity of Christ, was a matter of course. And, even were the adherence of the Jews, as a body, to their beliefs due to these books, no Christian was justified in taking action against these writings, or in settling the faith of the Jews, who were neither Christians nor heretics. Secular law was herein at one with the reasonable conclusions of scholars; for the Jews were members and fellow-citizens of the German Empire. The proper way of dealing with them was to seek to convert them by gentle means; and, to this end, professors of the Hebrew tongue should be appointed at the Universities, who would diffuse a correct knowledge of the actual contents of the incriminated books.

This clear and broad-minded declaration necessarily came at once to the knowledge of Pfefferkorn; and his counterblast was soon ready. In the spring of 1511 appeared, in German, the 'Handtspiegel,' a virulent attack upon Reuchlin, whom the tract accused of having been bribed by the Jews. Hereupon the fray burst forth into full flame. In September Reuchlin retorted with the 'Speculum Oculare' ('Augenspiegel'), in which he gave the lie to his assailant's main and subsidiary assertions, but, while indulging in a vituperative vein characteristic of the times rather than of himself, also descended to certain explanations and modifications. Yet, since Reuchlin's opinion was a confidential document, it was upon his 'Augenspiegel' that his adversaries seized as the handle for the proceedings by which they thought to crush him, but which, instead, rallied nearly the whole body of German humanists in his defence. He was at first ill-advised enough to enter into correspondence, half explanatory, half deprecatory, with members of the Cologne Theological Faculty. In return, claiming, by virtue of its connexion with the Inquisition, a right of censorship extending over the Empire at large, the Faculty bade him call in and destroy the copies of the 'Augenspiegel' on which he could lay his hands, and make a public declaration of his hostility to the Jews, and to the Talmud in particular.

Hereupon, Reuchlin answered his censors in a different vein. Appealing to the support of those poets and humanists who respected him as their teacher, he broke

off all negotiations and proceeded to publish in German a number of salient passages in the 'Augenspiegel.' The Cologners thereupon put forward one of the most respected of their champions in the person of Arnold von Tungern, whom Mr Stokes describes as Dean of the Faculty of Theology, but Böcking as Dean of the Faculty of Arts; he subsequently succeeded Hochstraten as 'Ketzermeister,' and left behind him a high reputation for munificence as well as learning. His 'Articuli sive Propositiones,' dedicated to the Emperor, must have helped to obtain an Imperial decree (October 1512) ordering the confiscation of Reuchlin's book; but the execution of this was so slow as to render it futile. Tungern's arguments had been accompanied by verses composed in part by Ortuinus Gratius, who called down the vengeance of heaven upon Reuchlin. They were not quite the first appearance in this particular arena of the accomplished gladiator in question, whom Mr Stokes is perhaps rather severe in designating a 'kept humanist.' So many bad names were called in this and contemporary controversies, that modern criticism is well-advised in preserving a more restrained tone.*

Ortuinus Gratius (whose real name was Graes, though the Obscure Men thought its latinised form to be derived either from *gratia* or from the Gracchi) had already, during the outburst of pamphlets which followed upon the publication of Pfefferkorn's 'Judenspiegel,' translated into Latin four productions similar to it in tenour, and in one of these versions had displayed his talent for epigram. A Westphalian by birth, and, notwithstanding the slanders of the Epistolæ, no doubt of respectable parentage on his mother's as he certainly was on his father's side,† he had been educated under Hegius at Deventer, where he afterwards taught. In the Epistolæ a whole posse of Obscure Ones, from the salacious Conrad of Zwickau to Joannes Vickelphius himself, 'humilis sacre theologiæ professor' (whose name perhaps conceals some allusion to Wiclif), claim the honour of his acquaintance or the benefit of his instruction. But it would be a mistake to suppose him to

* Luther, in a letter to Spalatin, terms the chief victim of the 'Epistolæ' 'asinum, canem, immo lupum rapacem, si non potius crocodilum.'

† His paternal uncle provided for the cost of his education; his maternal, according to 'Epistolæ,' ii, 62, was hangman at Halberstadt.

have been isolated as a 'poet' among the theologians at Cologne, where by this time humanism had many representatives, and where students were found entering, *eo nomine*, as students of humanity. In 1501 he matriculated at Cologne, and until his death in 1542 he seems (like Kant at Königsberg) never to have set foot outside his University. He was active there as professor in the 'Bursa Cucana' (Kueck's hostel), and as corrector of the press. As to his versatility there can be little doubt; for his 'Orationes quodlibeticæ' dealt with all the subjects of both *trivium* and *quadrivium*; and he was not altogether without wit, though it was very thinly beaten out. For the rest, he seems, as time went on, to have grown more rather than less to trust in his opinions, and he lived to praise Reuchlin.

In the phrase of one of the Epistolæ (ii, 62), Hochstraten, Tungern and Gratius were the 'tria magna candelabra sive lucernæ' of the orthodox at Cologne, to whom 'some add' Johannes Pfefferkorn, as a 'lantern or hanging-lamp.' The 'Brantspiegel' of the last-named (end of 1512) having repeated the twofold charge against Reuchlin of knowing no Hebrew and having been bribed by the Jews, he summed up his case in his 'Defensio' (1513), which, while triumphantly refuting the accusation against his 'Augenspiegel,' held the ancient University up to scorn as sunk into second childhood, and imputed blasphemy to Ortuinus Gratius, who had hailed the Blessed Virgin as 'Alma Jovis Mater.' The Epistolæ (i, 24) go so far as to charge Reuchlin with 'very unbecoming scandal-mongering' ('scandalizat valde dedecorose') in his 'Defensio'; nor was the pedantry all on one side.

The Emperor Maximilian, whose moods varied, was in June 1513 persuaded by Reuchlin to impose silence on both parties in the dispute; but, only a month later, the Cologne faculty obtained an imperial mandate suppressing the 'Defensio.' Encouraged by this success, it subsequently secured from the Universities of Cologne, Mainz and Louvain (judiciously substituted for Heidelberg) a condemnation of the still more obnoxious 'Augenspiegel'—Erfurt couching its adhesion in a form complimentary to the author. And in August 1514 the Paris Faculty of Theology, to Reuchlin's great chagrin, unanimously condemned the book. Meanwhile, Hochstraten had

audaciously summoned Reuchlin before his tribunal at Mainz; but Pope Leo X, to whom both sides intended to appeal, committed the settlement of the dispute to the Bishops of Speier and Worms, or to one of them. Thus, in March 1514, the young and liberal Count Palatine George, Bishop of Speier, gave his judgment, pronouncing the charges against the 'Augenspiegel' unmerited, ill-considered, unjust, and untrue. Hochstraten was to pay the costs of the suit; but, before the judgment was delivered to him, he had already once more appealed to Rome, where the appeal was entertained.

The question had now become one of international significance. While, in plain-spoken and cordial words, Maximilian commended the case of his councillor Reuchlin to the Holy See, his grandson Charles was writing to Leo X in a directly opposite sense, and the new King of France (Francis I) was urging him to follow the advice of the University of Paris. Hochstraten repaired in person to Rome, where, according to the *Epistolæ*, he at first appeared with much show of grandeur, 'habens pecuniam in banco' (ii, 6), and where on both sides endless wire-pulling set in. That corruption played its part in the game was unhesitatingly assumed by the writer of the second series (ii, 32); there is but one way in which to gain a cause at Rome; 'if Reuchlin has any money, they say at the Curia, let him send it here.' In the end, the Pope's Commission—according to the trustworthier account, with one dissentient voice—declared the 'Augenspiegel' free from blame; but the Pope, instead of approving the verdict, issued a *mandatum de superse-dendo*, which put off all further proceedings. Neither Hochstraten nor Reuchlin's proctor in Rome, the excellent Johann von der Wick (whose praises are conveyed in the *Epistolæ*, ii, 53, by the outpouring of a vial of wrath over the head of this 'homo valde audax'), seems to have given up the hope of a favourable papal pronouncement; but it became clear before long that the attempt of the Cologners had failed, and that the decision of the Bishop of Speier, approved by the vote of the Commission at Rome, was permanently valid. The date of issue of the final papal mandate—July 1516—should be borne in mind in connexion with the appearance of the first and second volume respectively of the *Epistolæ*.

The writings for or against Reuchlin (published after he had, as it were, said his own last word), with which the Leipzig and Frankfort fairs overflowed in these years, are, with the exception of the *Epistolæ*, all forgotten. To certain of the contributions to the dispute made by Ortuinus Gratius in the years 1514-15 reference will be made below. But note must be taken here of the collection of letters addressed to Reuchlin, published (no doubt by himself) in 1514 under the title of '*Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ*.' These letters had no direct bearing upon the Augenspiegel controversy, which remained unmentioned in Melancthon's introduction to the collection; but they sufficed to show who were the men that acknowledged Reuchlin as the head of their fraternity, and could be depended upon to rally round him. Wherever the humanists gathered, it was their custom to form *sodalitates* (intimate associations); and, as has been well pointed out by Brecht, the goodly company of the *Obscure Ones* itself is a sort of humanist parody of this humanist habit. At Erfurt, as has been seen, the Mutianic circle, of which Eobanus Hessus was the poet and Crotus Rubianus the humourist-in-chief, was foremost among the representative circles of German humanism; and it was in that circle that, as an effect of the Augenspiegel controversy, the idea of the '*Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*' was conceived, and by a member of it that the first volume of the satire was composed.

By a member of Mutian's circle, we said, but not by Mutian himself. Although he afterwards had no goodwill to spare for the Reformation, his sympathetic interest in the Renaissance never changed; and he may very probably have highly approved of at least the earlier of the *Epistolæ*. He may even have suggested some of the sallies contained in them; but he was the last man to have put pen to paper as a literary satirist. Indeed, he cordially disliked communicating his wisdom or learning except by word of mouth; Socrates, he said, had never left aught in writing behind him; and, in truth, what is the written word as compared with the spoken, which goes straight from mind to mind and from heart to heart?

It was at one time thought that the *Epistolæ* were the composition of several members or correspondents of Mutian's circle at Erfurt; but there is no antecedent

probability in such an assumption, and not a tittle of evidence in its favour. Kampschulte, who first effectively demonstrated the connexion between the *Epistolæ* and the *Erfurters*, was also the first to show clearly that *Crotus Rubianus* and *Ulrich von Hutten* were principally concerned in the authorship of the work as a whole; but he could not shake off the impression that there was some further collaboration. *Böcking*, *Strauss*, *Geiger* and *Krause* (the biographer of *Eobanus Hessus*) worked on this hypothesis, without advancing beyond the conclusion that the inventor of the satire was *Crotus*, who had the chief hand in the earlier series of letters, while *Hutten* was chief author of the later. As *Mr Stokes* reminds us, the general conclusions of these writers had been anticipated, with remarkable insight, by *Sir William Hamilton*; and they are accepted by *Sir John Sandys* in his standard work.* It was, however, rightly felt by *Brecht*, to whose treatise we have already referred, that the external evidence on the subject is insufficient of itself to warrant an absolute conclusion. He has therefore, with it, subjected the internal evidence, especially that of style, to a most careful examination, and may be said to have established, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the two series are internally distinct from one another, and that, of the two, *Crotus* and *Hutten* must respectively be regarded as the authors. *Buschius* (*Hermann von dem Bussche*) may have contributed an occasional letter,† in which case he was probably the third person of the three, which *Erasmus* had heard was the number of the authors

* 'A History of Classical Scholarship,' vol. ii, p. 257.

† *Böcking* was fain to ascribe to *Buschius* i, 19, where enquiry is made of *Ortuinus Gratius* whether he did not write the beautiful elegy on *Magister Sotphi* (*Gerhard von Zütphen*), of which *Stephanus Calvastrius* (*Baldhead?*) gives a kind of parody—'nequiter immutatum,' says the indignant 'poet' in his '*Lamentationes Obscurorum Virorum*,' where he quotes the original. *Buschius*, who was now a hostile rival of *Gratius* at *Cologne*, must have had an early knowledge of the poem; but this, as *Brecht* says, does not prove him to have written the parody, though he may have maliciously sent it on to *Crotus*. Another letter in which *Böcking* suspected the co-operation of *Buschius* is i, 36 (a gross mock defence of *Pfefferkorn* and his wife), which is dated from *Bonn* (*Verona Agrippina*), contains an actual reference to *Buschius*, and was probably based on a letter from him. Indeed, this and other *Epistolæ* contain certain parallel passages to his letter to *Reuchlin* in the '*Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum*,' See *Brecht*, pp. 145 ff.)

of the *Epistolæ*; but it is more likely that he only contributed material. Of the collaboration of Eobanus Hessus there is neither proof nor probability. That of Aperbachius (Petrejus Eberbach) is a really baseless conjecture of Kampschulte's; while the notion that Count Hermann von Neuenahr and the Cologne humanist Joannes Cæsarius were contributors has been exploded.

To Crotus Rubianus, then, who composed, actually or virtually, the whole of the first series of the *Epistolæ* (the volume published, at the latest, early in 1516, before the issue of the final papal mandate*), the famous satire owed, not only its first blush (an erubescence *a non erubescendo*) of fame, but also its literary framework and general design. Crotus Rubianus (Johann Jäger von Dornheim, whose Latin appellation is a delightful humanistic puzzle) seems to have been one of those genial spirits who are born to keep alive the gaiety of clubs, universities or nations. His contemporary, Justus Menius, if it was he who wrote the letter which, so far as we know, first ascribed to Crotus the authorship of the '*Epistolæ*,' reminds him that he never allowed the troubles of the times, the decay of the State, or the degeneracy of the Church, to spoil his sleep, appetite or good-humour. He accordingly proposed that his '*satires and dialogues*' should be sent forth into the world without his name; and, as may be seen from the chapter devoted to them by Brecht, their authorship is accordingly a subject of contention. It was only to his '*Apologia*' of his patron, Albert of Prussia (1531), that he put his name; and, after this had called forth the aforesaid anonymous letter, he seems to have published nothing more. On his return from Prussia he accepted a canonry at Halle, and died (at a date unknown) in communion with the Church of Rome—whether in perfect sympathy with her, who shall say?

But much water had flowed down both the Weser and the Pregel before Crotus had been purged of the ferment which had agitated both him and men of sterner stuff in the days when the German Reformation was still undeclared. One of the earliest of his writings (or of the writings ascribed to him with much probability), '*Contra*

* As to the '*Appendex*' to vol. i, see below.

Sentimentum Parrhiense' (late in 1514?), deals satirically with the Paris opinion on the 'Augenspiegel.'* Nothing was more natural than that to the satiric genius of Crotus the idea should have occurred of a contribution to the conflict in the shape of an exposure of the company kept by Reuchlin's leading adversaries, the friends and disciples of Ortuinus Gratius, the recreant humanist who had recently put himself forward as the champion of the persecuting party.

In addition to previous efforts, Gratius had, in 1514, published a work against the 'Augenspiegel,' proceeding from *Prenotamenta* to a review of the whole controversy; and he had, in addition, 'latinised' divers pieces 'composed' in German by Pfefferkorn.† To Gratius all the letters but two in vol. I of the 'Epistolæ' are addressed. Curiously enough, it seems to have been made almost certain by Brecht that this volume was put into shape by Crotus not at Erfurt but at Fulda, where he was in 1515 still teaching at the once famous abbey school, in which monks and boys intending to become monks were instructed; nor is there any proof that in this or the following year he paid any prolonged visit to this University. Of course, he always regarded himself as a member of it, and of its humanistic *sodalitas*; but the immediate models of the Obscure Men were not only the 'Magisternosters' and bachelors of Erfurt or other Universities, but the monks of Fulda whom he had to teach Latin for his sins. These brethren must have represented a class which might well look up with hopeless admiration to the Latinity, in prose and verse, of 'the poet of the Cologne Theologians.' Nor can they but have included celibatarians of a type also too prominent among his supposed correspondents.

As for the origin of the title of the book, it is explained with great gusto in the first letter of vol. II, no doubt written by Hutten. It is for humility's sake (we

* In it there figures the 'Cursor (bachelor lecturer) in Theologia,' Hackinetus Petitus—the Dominican Guillaume Haquinet Petit—who figured as a kind of public orator already under Louis XII and was afterwards confessor of Francis I. He was an active promoter of the agitation against Reuchlin's book, and is addressed by Lyra Buntschuhmacherius, one of the Obscure (I, 35), as Guillelmus Hackinetus.

† The Latin version of the 'Beschyrmung' (1516), which was so elaborate as to make it almost a new book, was also ascribed to him.

are there told) that Gratius, the supposed receiver and publisher of the letters, adopted a title for the collection ironically indicating the real superiority of his correspondents to Reuchlin's 'Clari Viri' (see above p. 139). As we read in the twentieth of Ecclesiasticus, 'there is an abasement because of glory, and there is that lifteth up his head from a low estate.' The title of the satire and the notion of addressing the letters to Gratius need no further explanation; but the note of burlesque was struck at once in the names of his correspondents. Böcking's attempts to explain these names and to identify them here and there with known personages are certainly more instructive than conclusive; but, to whatever extent they were intended to mystify, neither Rabelais nor Dickens was superior as an onomatopœist to the inventor of the series headed by Thomas Langschneyderius 'baccalaureus theologiæ formatus.*' Some (like those of Nicolaus Caprimulgius or Matthæus Mellilambus) may be translated straight into English; others only through the model of German idiom (like Paulus Daubengiglius (Deafmute), Conradus Dellerkopfius (Noodlehead), Lyra Buntschuhmacherius (General Strike-maker); yet others remain more or less doubtful, but still pleasing (like Franciscus Genselinus or Gerhardus Schirruglius); while of one or two the derivation had better be left untraced.

Such being the names of the writers, what is the *materia* of their discourse? 'Non omnibus una, Nec diversa tamen,' as befits those who are brothers in density, ignorance and grossness. Magister Langschneyderius, in the celebrated opening letter of the volume, asks for the solution of a problem put forward at an academic banquet at Leipzig—where the conversation was washed down by copious draughts of wine from Elbe and Rhine, and beer of Eimbeck and other taps—whether 'magister nostrandus' or 'noster magistrandus' is the correct expression for a person eligible for the degree of Doctor in Divinity (called by usage 'magister noster'). Magister Joannes Pellifex propounds the theological question whether capping a couple of Jews, mistaken for 'magistri

* A degree implying the completion of the prescribed course of Peter Lombard's 'Sentences,' and, according to Dr Rashdall, quoted by Mr Stokes, still surviving in the University of Coimbra.

nostri,' was a 'peccatum mortale' or 'veniale.' But, though the letters now and then return to questions of academical etiquette or quasi-theological discussion, like the Rabelaisian difficulty (i, 37) which is finally left to be settled by Mrs Pfefferkorn, their topics soon become more familiar and the treatment of them looser; and gradually the references to Reuchlin and his affairs and adversaries (which begin with a query about 'iste ribaldus') become more noticeable. At the same time Ortuinus Gratius is worried with wicked ingenuity (in the persistency of which there is more humour than in the details), and occasionally with brutal coarseness, about his supposed evil living and supposed bastard birth. For the rest, the writers take every occasion of exhibiting their notions of scholarship as well as of religion and morality; and their random talk comically illustrates the tendency still in vogue to harmonise pagan myths with biblical passages, and to elucidate Christian dogmas by means of forced analogies and false etymologies.* More simple is the warning that too much reading of poetry must lead to carnal thoughts.†

Now, throughout the letters comprised in vol. i, the Reuchlin controversy is constantly in the mind of the author; and to his puppets it is a red rag ceaselessly exciting them to imbecile anger and impotent spite. But it is clear that their inventor is interested in them on their own account as the creatures of his humour. In this humour there is at times no burlesque at all, only a comic insight resembling that of Cervantes or Smollett, rather than that of Rabelais or Scarron.‡ Far different

* See i, 28, 30 and 38.

† i, 23.

‡ See, for instance, the inimitable letter from Joannes Lucibularius of Zwolle (i, 20) applying to Ortuinus Gratius for a testimonial, which is so well translated by Mr Stokes that we cannot resist quoting it at length:

'Joannes Lucibularius to Magister Ortuinus Gratius.'

'Greetings that no man can number.'

'Reverend Herr Magister, inasmuch as you formerly promised me that you would be my help in time of need, and that you would fain advance me before all others; and inasmuch as you told me boldly to seek your aid, and that you would then stretch out a helping hand to me as to a brother, and would not desert me in adversity—I therefore now entreat you, for the love of God, to succour me, as you are well able.'

'The Rector here hath dismissed an assistant teacher, and desireth to appoint another—will you therefore on my behalf write a letter of recommendation, praying him to be pleased, or to deign, to appoint me? I have

is the spirit found in possession of the machinery of the 'Epistolæ,' so soon as the fiery personality of Hutten reveals itself under the mask of the Obscure Ones. It may be traced, without much uncertainty, in the very first of the seven letters forming the 'Appendix' to the third edition of vol. I, published in the latter part of 1516, several months after the issue of the mandate *de supersedendo*. In the latter part of August, Hutten had received at Bologna from Crotus a copy of the first or second edition of the first volume; and this, which we know he had not seen before, and which he now acknowledged as 'quam non illiberales jocos,' suggested to him the continuation of a satire previously unknown to him, though of course he might have heard of its being in preparation. Hutten, whose genius was essentially receptive rather than original, threw himself with passionate zest into the self-imposed task of continuing the Epistolæ, and, after furnishing forth the 'Appendix' to vol. I, at once set to work on the letters comprised in vol. II, which was published, at the latest, early in 1517; for there can be no doubt that it was included in the Apostolic brief issued against the Epistolæ on March 15 of that year.

Ulrich von Hutten had at this period not yet reached the height of his stormy career. Erfurt had been one of the Universities which he had visited without settling there, after he had, in defiance of the wish of the Franciscan knight his father, shaken off the dust of the monastic school at Fulda. Crotus was not yet teaching there; but, about 1506, the scholar-errant made friends with him at Erfurt, as well as with Eobanus Hessus, Aperbachius, and, so far as a radical difference of

no more money, since I have spent it all, for I have even bought me some books and some shoes.

'You are well aware that, by God's grace, I am competent; for when you were at Deventer I was in the second class, and I afterwards stayed in residence at Cologne for a year, so that I qualified for the Bachelor's degree, and I should have graduated at Michaelmas if I had had the money. I know how to expound the Boys' Exercise-book to learners, and the *Opus Minus* (Part II), and I know the art of Scansion as you taught it me, and Peter of Spain in all his works, and the *Parvulus* of Natural Philosophy. I am a singer too, and am skilled in plain-song and prick-song, and I have a bass voice withal, and can sing one note below contra C.

'I call these things to your mind in no vainglorious spirit; pardon me, therefore—and so I commend you to God Almighty.'

temperament permitted, with Mutianus himself. His early adventures, and the writings in part connected with them, by which he won himself a place among the humanists, must not occupy us here: but it should be noted that, so early as 1514, he gave expression to the interest which he took in the Reuchlin controversy by a poem entitled 'Triumphus Caprionis,' which Erasmus advised him not to publish while the matter was still *coram iudice*.* A second visit to Italy in 1515-17 (the date of his first had been 1512-13) heightened his humanistic sympathies and antipathies; and in the preface to a revised edition of his 'Οὔτις' (a satiric treatment of the theme 'Nobody is everybody'), which he prepared during or just before his stay at Rome, he opens his heart about the theologians of the day, their stupid pride in their cowls and privileges, and their hatred of all good and Christian work, like that of Erasmus and Reuchlin. At Bologna, where, to please his father, he settled down to read law, he found time to learn Greek, and with his tutor read Lucian, an author whose example inspired him to the long series of dialogues in which he clothed his hatreds and his aspirations.†

Enough has been said to account for Hutten's resolution of sending forth a second series of Epistolæ. The 'Appendex' to the first volume and the body of the second bear the too familiar marks of a continuation. The general machinery of the work and the general characteristics of the obscure letter-writers are accepted as a matter of course, and, since Hutten was not endowed with much inventive power, often become wearisome in his hands. As a sort of play within a play, he gives a quasi-concrete illustration of his model in the 'Epistolæ Magistrorum Lipsiensium,' of which he furnishes a complete specimen full of boasting and bestiality.‡

* The celebrated 'Triumphus Doctoris Reuchlini,' actually published in 1517 (or '18) with an illustrative woodcut based on Dürer's 'Triumph of Maximilian,' though, notwithstanding Strauss, it would seem to have been the work of Hutten, who calls it 'T. Caprionis,' was probably a different poem.

† The earliest of these, 'Phalarismus' (against Ulrich of Württemberg), which appeared in March 1517, was probably composed much about the same time as was his share of the Epistolæ.

‡ i, 43, 44. The enclosure contains the famous students' bill of fare: 'Semper' (Grütze), 'Continue' (soup), 'Cottidie' (porridge), 'Frequenter' (boiled meat), 'Nunquam' (cheese), etc.

Brecht has been at great pains to show how Hutten repeated the various devices of his predecessor—the imbecile problems,* the praises of ‘Magisternosters’ and monks, the bad morals and the bad verse of Ortuinus Gratius.† To the second-class man in quest of a testimonial in vol. I corresponds the aspirant to a fat country living in vol. II (48). Furthermore, Hutten follows Crotus in the names he invents for his letter-writers, though he occasionally introduces among them a real personage, such as Arnoldus de Thungaris and the blatant Jacobus de Altaplatea himself, and in the openings and general arrangement of the letters. Verse is, however, more plentiful in part II; and in the splendid rumble of Magister Schlauraff’s perambulation of Germany—a sort of humanist ‘Drunken Barnabee’s Journal’—critics have justly recognised the pearl of the whole collection.‡ Its authorship has been, grotesquely enough, ascribed to Melanchthon; but Hutten knew why he wrote

Et ivi ad Gripswaldiam,§
Quæ habet modicam companiam,
Et sic abivi mox,
Quamvis fuit statim nox,
Et veni ad Francfordiam,

Quæ jacet apud Oderam;
Ubi Hermannus Trebellius||
Cum suis poematibus
Multum me infamavit,
Et audacter blasphemavit;

nor could he keep himself bodily out of this masterpiece:

Tunc ivi ad Franconiam,
Ubi est fluvius Menus.
Ibi Ulirichus Huttenus

Juravit levatis digitis
Quod vellet me percutere virgis,
Si vellem ibi stare;
Tunc cogitavi meum salutare.

In the later series the device of suggesting praise and blame indirectly—out of the mouth, as it were, of the enemy—is worked with far more intentness than in the

* Whether a man can be a member of more Universities than one, and should not rather be called ‘members’ of them (ii, 13); whether proper nouns can have plurals (ii, 47); whether it is a mortal sin to eat a chicken in an egg on a Friday (ii, 26).

† One picture of him (ii, 52) as he sits among his books, whisk in hand, is almost a replica of the woodcut prefixed to the first section of the ‘Ship of Fools’ (‘Of Unprofitable Books’). As to University matters, see especially ii, 58, where the decline of the German Universities, both in number of students and in the value of degrees, is lamented. This very amusing letter calls for an ampler commentary than can be attempted here.

‡ Schlauraff’s itinerary presents rhythmical as well as other analogies to the ‘Schluraffenschiff’ in Brant’s poems, which is mentioned in the former.

§ It was on his journey from Greifswald that he fell into an ambushade.

|| Hutten’s tutor.

earlier. While Crotus's treatment of Reuchlin and his case was more or less subsidiary to the main purpose of ridiculing the obscure partisans of his adversaries, Hutten has the commendation of the great scholar and the pillorying of those adversaries primarily at heart, and repeatedly reviews the humanists united against them as a sort of *conjunctio* in favour of the good cause.* Writing as he does near Rome, whence, as will be remembered, the papal mandate had now issued, he eagerly seized an opportunity not likely to recur of having his full say upon it. Hochstraten and Pfefferkorn are 'roasted'—it is difficult to find a politer word equally appropriate—without mercy;† on the other hand, references to Reuchlin multiply as we proceed, and in the middle of the volume, he is introduced *in propria persona*.‡ Spectacles on nose, the good old man satisfies the curiosity of an inquisitive *baccalaureus*, who has found him in his study reading a book 'in strange characters,' 'called Plutarch,' while under his chair lay the everlasting Pfefferkorn's 'Defensio.' Would he not answer it? 'By no means' (he replies); 'I am already vindicated. I pay no further heed to such folly, and my eyes scarcely suffice me for studying matters of use to me.' Elsewhere (ii, 50) he is spoken of as 'That poor old man . . . who in all his life hath ravaged no one; that is, he hath accused no one falsely, nor has he attacked the life or reputation of any man by word or deed.'

Like master, like followers. One of the letters deplores the discredit into which the old school has fallen, except at Cologne; it is now opposed by such men, forsooth, as Doctor Reyss of Würzburg,§ who

'altogether holdeth a way of his own, and is neither an Albertist, nor a Scotist, nor an Occamist, nor a Thomist. And if one asketh him, "Most excellent Herr Doctor, of what way are you," he answereth, "The way of Christ."'

* Cf. i, app. ; ii, 9.

† The former is made to communicate himself the 'epitaphia' made on him at Rome (i, app. 48) and described as now in the depths (ii, 6). Pfefferkorn's 'Defensio' is again and again riddled; and (in ii, 28) an anthology of heretical and treasonable passages, by no means altogether burlesque in intention, is culled by a Reuchlinist out of the book.

‡ ii, 34.

§ ii, 43. Joannes Reyss was an Erfurt graduate and a canon of Würzburg, and called by more friendly critics 'a second Augustine and Cicero.'

If this noble passage be more or less of a plagiarism of St Paul, the writer of vol. II has in his mind, from first to last, a living student possessed of that intellectual independence which is the writer's ideal.

Nothing is more curious than the determination with which the great name of Erasmus is, in vol II of the *Epistolæ*, as it were, forced upon the attention of the reader.* As a matter of fact, Erasmus, who had been highly amused by one or two samples of the *Epistolæ* while they were still unpublished, was anything but pleased by the work as a whole, or by the part which, in the continuation, he was made to play; and in a letter to Cæsarius he expressed his opinion that this kind of thing could only do harm to the cause of humanism. 'Non tali auxilio'; and we must remember to what weapons—those of ribaldry and culumny—Hutten had followed Crotus in descending. Moreover, Erasmus, who was admitted to the intimacy—at least by letter—of the great ones of the earth, and whose diplomacy had been called upon to exert itself in the affair of Reuchlin itself, could not relish the freedom with which some of the letters in vol. II dealt with the intentions of the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France. For the local colour which Hutten, as a resident in central Italy, contrives to impart to the letters (a large proportion of which are dated from Rome, and introduce such topics as

* Already in the 'Appendex' to vol. I (42) he is brought on the scene, and the writer expresses his conviction of the impossibility 'quod unus homo parvus, ut ipse est, tam multa deberet scire.' In another letter (48) he is said by Hochstraten to have already begun to write on theology, and is warned to take care of himself if in his scribbles is to be found the very smallest jot on which he has gone astray, 'or which I do not understand.' In vol. II the desire of claiming him as a supporter of Reuchlin becomes very obvious. In 33 occurs the well-known and rather burlesque jest of coupling with Reuchlin 'another fellow, Proverbia Erasmi.' In 38 he is reported, from Basel, to be with Glareanus in Reuchlin's favour; but in 59, where the whole 'conspiracy' of poets upholding Reuchlin is reported, and Murner and Buschius, and Willibald 'something or other' (Pirkheimer), and Hermann von Neuenahr and Croke and Hutten—why should he leave himself out?—with Vadianus and Wimpheling and Melancthon and some of the Erfurters, are enumerated among them, Erasmus is in a fashion excepted. But the fashion is artful in the highest degree, for no greater compliment could have been paid him than the famous phrase 'Erasmus est homo pro se' (Mr Stokes translates 'Erasmus taketh his own part'; we should prefer 'stands for himself'). Yet though the phrase is, so to speak, softened by the assurance that he will never befriend those theologians and friars, it was probably intended to convey a shade of reproach.

the Pope's elephant, the *Campo Fiore*, and the unbearable heat of the summer) is not more noticeable than the interest shown in the great personages and great questions of contemporary politics, of which Crotus, with his much narrower horizon, gives little or no indication.

We have no space left in which to discuss the theory, to which we do not attach much importance, that the last eight letters of vol. II are the production of a different writer, who is conjectured to have been an Alsatian pupil of Wimpheling.* These letters first appeared in the second edition published in 1517, and were possibly intended as a reply to the Papal Brief condemning the whole work. Some of them are dated from Strassburg or its vicinity; and, as Strauss observes, they suggest a desire to give the detractors a place in the pillory by the side of those of Reuchlin. There is no other element of novelty in them; and neither the powerful indirect indictment of monks as pretenders to religion but leaders of evil lives (ii, 64), nor the scandalous pretence of providing Ortuinus with a magical formula in writing invisible to all persons born in wedlock,† is out of keeping with the earlier letters. The last letter of all (for the third part that followed was altogether spurious), in which Magister Maleolus (Hämmerlein) 'in Paradiso' tells the whole truth 'without flowers of rhetoric' to Ortuinus and in round terms assigns him and his crew to the gallows, is sheer invective, without any attempt at fun, except what may lurk in the not very intelligible colophon. We have it on the authority of Erasmus that, until this letter appeared in print, many monks still believed the *Epistolæ* in general to be the genuine productions of real men.

In what precedes, an attempt has been made to furnish the reader with an outline of the story of this celebrated satire and, incidentally, to convey some notion of the manner and style of the two series of which it consists. Notwithstanding all its repetitions, its scurrilities, and its ruthless use or invention of personal scandal, it remains

* Of course, it is not impossible, as Brecht points out, that in the body of the letters in vol. II Hutten was occasionally indebted to the suggestions of his friends Jakob Fuchs and Friedrich Fischer, Canons of Würzburg, with whom he lived at Bologna. (See above as to II, 43.)

† II, 65. This is, so far as we have observed, the only reference to magic in the *Epistolæ*, except the obscure suggestion in I, 41.

in its way unique. The idea of advocating the cause of the humanists, and of the intellectual freedom represented and defended by them, out of the mouths of their sworn adversaries was wholly original; and the design, which grew out of this idea, of representing those adversaries as hopeless and despicable dullards, was achieved, with little of the playful irony of Erasmus, or of the luxuriant expansiveness of Rabelais—but it was achieved. The cap fitted; and, though as a literary performance the *Epistolæ* cannot rank with the greatest satires of the world's literature, yet not only was their success immediate and overwhelming, but, produced as they were in one of the critical epochs of the history of modern civilisation, they rank higher than the '*Satire Menippée*' or '*Hudibras*' in proportion as the cosmopolitan importance of their theme transcended the merely national importance of these later satires.

If, after the exchange of a few more amenities, the curtain fell somewhat suddenly on the play, this was due not so much to a satiety which could not but eventually set in, as to the march of events, and to the completeness with which the interest of Germany, and in a less degree that of other western States, were absorbed by the religious struggle, the outbreak of which is rightly dated in the year 1517. Not only the *Obscure Men* were obliged to take up a more or less definite position towards the Reformation. Of Mutianus and Crotus we have already spoken, and the attitude of Erasmus we know. Reuchlin, when he resided in the house of Eck at Ingolstadt, prevented his host from burning Luther's books; but he was out of sympathy with Luther, and ceased from intimate intercourse with his own kinsman Melanchthon. Hutten dared to choose the opposite part. But the humanist movement was for a long time overwhelmed by the religious; and to Luther the *Epistolæ* seemed sheer foolery. Much of the satire, as we have seen, hardly deserves a different name. But the impulses which gave it life and importance, though they could not prevail in a period of confessions and formulas, were but arrested, and might safely await a revival of their day.

A. W. WARD.

Art. 7.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF HENRI BERGSON.

1. *Essai sur les Données Immédiates de la Conscience. Matière et Mémoire. L'Evolution Créatrice. Le Rire.* Par Henri Bergson. Paris : Félix Alcan, 1889-1910.
2. *Time and Free Will.* Translated by F. L. Pogson. *Matter and Memory.* Translated by Nancy M. Paul and W. S. Palmer. London : Sonnenschein, 1910-11.
3. *Creative Evolution.* Translated by Arthur Mitchell. *Laughter.* Translated by Cloudesley Brereton and Fred Rothwell. London : Macmillan, 1911.
4. *The Philosophy of Bergson.* By A. D. Lindsay. London : Dent, 1911.
5. *A Pluralistic Universe. Some Problems of Philosophy.* By William James. London : Longmans, 1909-11.
6. *Body and Mind.* By William McDougall, M.B. London : Methuen, 1911.*

OXFORD has always piqued herself on being the home of lost causes; and it is a curious commentary on this claim that, of our two ancient Universities, she should be the one to extend the warmer welcome to those philosophical movements of the day that happen to have scored a popular success. Hitherto Prof. Bergson's writings have on the whole left the academic world in this country cold; but now there comes from Balliol, the very shrine of Aristotelian tradition, an enthusiastic exposition of the new philosophy by Mr Lindsay; while Pragmatism, which, as is well known, has been treated in professional circles with little respect, has its foremost living representative at Oxford in Dr Schiller, who has gathered disciples round him, and has done more than anyone else, except the late William James, to make Pragmatism known at home and abroad. Again, it was an Oxford college which invited William James to give, in the summer of 1909, the course of lectures since published under the title of 'A Pluralistic Universe;' and the impassioned eulogy which he then devoted to the young French philosopher, who has so much in common with the Pragmatists, seems to have aroused sympathetic

* To this list may be added Mr J. McKellar Stewart's 'Critical Exposition of Bergson's Philosophy,' which came in too late for review in the following article.

echoes in Oxford cloisters. 'Open Bergson,' William James said, 'and new horizons loom on every page you read. . . . It tells of reality itself instead of merely reiterating what dusty-minded professors have written about what other previous professors have thought. Nothing in Bergson is shop-worn or at second hand.' Before discussing Prof. Bergson's philosophy itself, I propose to say a few words as to the affinity, which prompted this vigorous outburst, between his views and those of the Pragmatists.

In 'Some Problems of Philosophy' William James touches again on this affinity, and he had evidently intended to say much more on the subject; but death cut him off in the plenitude of his powers some eighteen months ago, so that the appearance of this posthumous and fragmentary volume must intensify for his many friends and readers their sense of what has been lost. Even so, it is easy enough to see in a general way that there is some real likeness between the work of William James and that of Bergson. For one thing, they have in common a strongly emotional cast of mind which may be described as the spirit of revolt against traditional methods in philosophy. But this by itself does not explain William James's enthusiasm, since almost all philosophers rebel against the methods and traditions of their predecessors. Yet to discover what, beyond this, is the precise bond between them is not so easy. It may perhaps be explained in the following way. Among the principal tasks that philosophers have constantly tried to perform is that of giving a general description of the contents of the universe—of determining, as they sometimes put it, the ultimate nature of all reality. In the course of doing this, various questions always arise, of which the following may be mentioned as typical: Are space and the things in it infinitely divisible or not? Is space infinite in extent or not? Is time infinitely divisible or not? Is the course of time of infinite extent in two directions, backwards and forwards, or not? Now, whoever tries to think about such questions with the idea of answering them, quickly sees that any answer is full of difficulties—difficulties which consist in the fact that there seem to be reasons, between which it is very hard to decide, both for and against any answer.

In fact, in many cases there seem to be equally good reasons for two different answers, which yet cannot both be true because they contradict one another.

I do not intend to give any of the reasons which might be urged both for and against answering any of the above questions in any particular way; I wish merely to point out that it is generally assumed that the only hope of solving such metaphysical problems lies in examining the reasons for and against particular answers. William James, although most of his published work lay in the more special departments of psychology and ethics, was, like other philosophers, constantly exercised by these metaphysical problems, and he seems towards the end of his life to have come to a certain conclusion about them. His conclusion was this: that these problems are absolutely insoluble in accordance with the laws of logic, and that the true solution lies in abandoning those laws. If we wish to understand reality, we must frankly admit that reality is non-rational. In his Oxford lectures, at all events, he took up this position emphatically; nor is it abandoned in the later book, for his view, he there says (p. 136), 'does make the world partly alogical or non-rational from a purely intellectual point of view.'

Thus he holds that the changes which we perceive as taking place around us—'the perceptual *durcheinander*,' as he calls it—really are continuous; but this continuity is irrational in the sense that it defies all logical explanation, the triumphs of modern mathematicians in defining a continuity which involves no contradictions being, in his opinion, illusory. At the same time he inclines towards the view that the temporal process of the universe 'increases by finite and perceptible units' (p. 185). Apparently he admits that this supposition involves logical absurdities; but he embraces it on the ground that it works more satisfactorily than the incredible results to which we should be driven by a strict adherence to logic. So again with his pluralism; he thinks that the universe is composed of many different things because this belief works satisfactorily, and because, though 'intellectually' irrational, it is no more so than the contrary belief that there is no difference between any two things in the universe. We can thus see the reason why of

late years he devoted so much of his energy to maintaining against all comers the characteristic doctrines of Pragmatism—the definition, that is to say, of true beliefs as those beliefs which give satisfaction or forward some human purpose, and the theory that, in order to decide philosophical questions, we must enquire into the practical results of believing one solution rather than the other. For these doctrines are simply an attempt to prepare the ground for a proper understanding of reality, by destroying what he calls the traditional ‘intellectualist’ logic. And, whatever we may think of their validity, it must be admitted that, in concentrating himself upon them, William James displayed true philosophical instinct. For the theory of truth is fundamental; so long as it is doubtful what we mean by calling a belief ‘true,’ we cannot profitably enquire whether or not such and such a view of the universe is true. It was because Bergson’s work is equally permeated by the view that it is hopeless to attempt a determination of reality by adhering to ordinary logical procedure, that William James welcomed him as a brother-in-arms in the battle against obscurantism. It must be observed, however, that Bergson never seriously attacks any problem so fundamental as that which concerns the nature of truth. William James left no more than hints and adumbrations of a system of metaphysics, but he tried to lay a foundation. Bergson, on the other hand, with Gallic passion for symmetry and completeness, evolves a whole theory of the Universe, which, from his want of interest in the logic of his position, remains, as I hope to show, vague and fantastic. I shall first try to state the main features of this attempt to describe the nature of the principal contents of the universe.

Bergson’s three principal books are all now available for English readers in excellent translations, which, it may be noticed, have one merit not possessed by the originals—they are provided with full indices and summaries of chapters. The subject of the first of these books is not very clearly indicated by the title: ‘*Les Données Immédiates de la Conscience*,’ nor by that of ‘*Time and Free Will*,’ substituted by the translator with the author’s approval. It would be better described as a

treatise on the nature of mind. For it aims at performing one part of the above-mentioned distinctively philosophical task of describing the contents of the universe; it tries to prove that all the things in the universe of the kind that may be called mental or spiritual have certain characteristics not generally recognised; and it also tries to point out how it happens that certain false opinions about the nature of mind are so generally entertained. The second book, '*Matière et Mémoire*,' goes a step further. Its aim is to determine the nature of all the things of that other kind called physical or material, which are commonly believed to be also among the contents of the universe; and, further, to explain what the relation is in which these two sorts of things, mind and matter, stand to one another. The way is thus prepared for the more detailed exposition of the nature of reality as a whole which is given in '*L'Évolution Créatrice*.'

Many philosophers, perhaps most, believe, and try to persuade their readers, that their views are merely common sense; and Bergson is no exception to this rule. But we must observe that, if the arguments of '*Les Données*' are sound, the nature of our minds is something very different from what it is usually supposed to be. It would seem natural, for instance, if we were asked to explain what we mean by saying that we have minds—that we are conscious beings—to mention such facts as these: as that we feel, perceive, think, and will; that at different times we have different feelings, perceptions, thoughts, and volitions; that in the course of our lives we perform a great number of these different mental acts, so many that it would probably be impossible to count them, although it is conceivable that they should be counted; that some of these mental acts differ from others in the way expressed by saying that one is more intense than another; and that some of these acts sometimes cause others. But, according to Bergson, none of these supposed facts can serve as illustrations of the sort of thing that a mind is, because on his theory some of them are not facts at all, and others are only facts in some sense quite different from that in which they would usually be understood.

His argument is roughly as follows. All sensations

are qualities, and, being mental states, are not extended in space and cannot be divided as everything extended in space can be. It follows that one sensation cannot be greater or less than another, for to say that one thing is greater than another means that it occupies more space. Yet we certainly regard one sensation as capable of being more intense than another; for instance, at one time I feel an intenser heat than at another. What, then, can this mean? After a long psychological discussion he decides that, when a sensation is said to grow in intensity, this means one or more of the following things: either that there occurs an increasingly large number of qualitatively different mental states, or that more and more reactions take place in the body, or that the external cause of the sensation is an increasing quantity.

Let us take a simple instance. It is misleading to say that, when I enjoyed my dinner more than my breakfast, I got a greater intensity of pleasure from the one than from the other. A correct statement of what happened would run to the effect that at dinner-time a greater number of changes took place in my nervous system or in my mind. But perhaps it will be objected that this is a circular definition: in defining what is meant by 'greater quantity of pleasure' as 'greater number of physical or mental changes,' are we not introducing again the very notion of quantity that we wanted to define? To this objection, in so far as his proposal is to define 'intenser sensation' as meaning 'greater number of physical changes,' Bergson seems to have no clear reply; for he holds that 'quantity' is only another name for number as applied to physical things. But, in so far as the definition asserts that 'intenser sensation' means merely 'more mental changes,' his reply consists in a theory which must be briefly noticed. According to this theory, the notion of quantity or number is never involved when we speak of 'a greater number of mental states'; for the words, in such a phrase as this, that seem to have a numerical meaning, really only have that meaning when used of physical objects. We must recognise, in fact, two kinds of multiplicity—one, which may be called 'quantitative' multiplicity, connected with numbers and counting; and another, purely 'qualitative,' which alone is applicable to mental states.

It is important to distinguish clearly between these two kinds of multiplicity, since many fallacies as to the nature of reality spring from confusing them, though Bergson confesses that the notion of qualitative multiplicity 'cannot be translated into the language of common sense.' One point, however, is plain: his distinction between the two kinds of multiplicity is based on the view that mathematics depends upon space and counting. 'Counting material objects,' he says, 'means thinking all these objects together, thereby leaving them in space.' Number, in fact, *is* the juxtaposition of objects in space. Now mental states are not, like material objects, arranged in space side by side; hence they cannot be counted, and numbers do not apply to them. And observation bears this out. All our mental states run indistinguishably into one another; they are fused like the notes of a tune, and are not outside one another as are the parts of space and the objects in it. So, when I watch the beats of a pendulum, I do not really have, in the course of a minute, sixty distinct perceptions all exactly alike; what occurs is one complex mental event, unique in quality, with no sharp distinctions between its parts. But for purposes of convenience I count my perceptions; I put them side by side, that is to say, in a medium composed of exactly similar parts. This medium I call time; but, being 'homogeneous,' it can be nothing but space. In other words, we vitiate all our mental processes by the introduction into them of the notion of space; this 'time' in which we spread our processes out into distinct parts is a spurious space, quite unlike real time or 'duration,' which is 'perfectly heterogeneous.' Space admits only of juxtaposition, not of succession; to understand true succession we must banish the idea of a homogeneous medium and turn to 'pure duration.'

Thus the true duration of our mental life is purely qualitative; it is not a 'static' thing, but a 'dynamic' process, which cannot be broken up into parts or measured. And this shows, according to Bergson, that our minds possess a further property which distinguishes them from material objects—the property, namely, of not being subject to the law of causality. A mental state cannot be the effect of previous mental states; indeed, it cannot be the effect of anything at all,

because the only difference between two mental states is a qualitative difference (it is not even true to say that they are 'two' states), and one quality can never be inferred from another.

'The relation of inner causality' (he says) 'is purely dynamic, and has no analogy with the relation of two external phenomena which condition one another. For, as the latter are capable of recurring in a homogeneous space, their relation can be expressed in terms of a law, whereas deep-seated psychic states occur once in consciousness and will never occur again.' ('Time and Free Will,' p. 219.)

In other words, the freedom of the will is a fact. But Bergson does not hold that all our acts are uncaused or free; indeed, free acts are exceptional, and many people never perform any at all. For freedom is a matter of degree, only those acts being perfectly free which, at the great crises of life, spring from the innermost core of our nature. This is connected with his doctrine that in each of us there are two different selves, one which we reach by deep introspection, and another, more superficial, which is its 'spatial representation.' The latter is not free, and is subject to the laws of cause and effect.

This account of the nature of mind, then, is Bergson's first step in trying to give a general description of the contents of the universe; and a very surprising account it is. It is surprising, for instance, to learn that no one has ever, in the whole course of his life, had a sensation at one moment, and then after a definite lapse of time has had another sensation, since no one can be said, strictly speaking, ever to have had *two* sensations or to have had them at different times. I defer the question whether this account is true, as it will be more convenient first to complete the description of the contents of the universe as Bergson conceives them. He takes the second step in '*Matière et Mémoire*,' which is occupied mainly with discussing the relations between the mental part of reality and the material part. His solution of the two great classes of philosophical difficulties which arise in considering the connexion between mind and matter is extremely complicated; but I think that its principal points can be put in a fairly simple way.

To begin with, it is evident that there really are two

kinds of difficulties, that the phrase 'the connexion between mind and matter' may be used about two different sets of facts. In the first place, there is that sort of connexion between mind and matter which is expressed by saying that our minds perceive or are conscious of material objects; it is well known that philosophers have been much concerned with explaining the precise nature of this kind of connexion between them, and have also tried to account for its origin. In the second place, our minds are attached in a special way to some among the material objects in the universe, namely, our bodies; and this more special connexion, which is evidently of a different kind from the first, has also been much discussed by philosophers; it may be called, in Bergson's phrase, the problem as to the union of body and soul. To anyone not used to philosophical discussions it may come as a surprise to hear that any difficulty is raised by either of these two kinds of facts. When I say that I see a table, I know perfectly well what I mean, and everyone who hears me knows; what is there that requires explanation? So again, when I say that my mind is attached to my body, the meaning of this seems tolerably clear, and I believe that science can give me a great deal of correct information bearing on the connexion. I shall therefore mention shortly the difficulties, involved in both these kinds of statement, that Bergson seems to have chiefly in mind. In this way we shall be better able to understand his views as to the nature both of mind and of matter.

First, then, as to our perception of material objects: what is meant by 'I see a table'? Little reflection is needed to see that what seems so plain and simple is really far from easy to understand. For one thing, science tells me that the table is something very different from what I see; that, for instance, it is composed of an enormous number of particles vibrating with astonishing rapidity; but of these particles and their movements I certainly see nothing. Again, I need only look at a part of the table under a microscope to satisfy myself that no part of it has the same colour that I see with my naked eye; and not only so, but what I see varies in size and shape according to my distance from the table and my point of view; yet it is hard to believe that the actual

table is not of a single definite size and shape. Thus there is a real difficulty as to what the *object* of perception is when I see a material object; so much so that, for these among other reasons, some philosophers have supposed that we cannot know that any material object exists independently of our minds, since all we can know is our own perceptions or sensations and the relations between them. But if this really is all that we know, it becomes necessary to explain how we come to think of material objects as extended in space; and this problem as to how we come to 'exteriorise' our perceptions, to put them out of our minds into space, is one of those on which Bergson proposes to throw light.

But, again, there is a difficulty, not only as to what the object of perception is, but as to what 'perception' itself is. What exactly is this thing, 'my perception,' which is of material objects? Science tells me that, in part at least, it is caused by material objects. Every particle of matter in the universe is acting causally on every other particle; and my perceptions seem to be caused by material objects in this sense at least, that, if impressions from outside were not transmitted by my afferent nerves to my brain (both nerves and brain being material objects), I should have no perceptions. Cut the nerves connected with my eyes, and material objects vanish; no visual appearance of them remains. Bergson dwells on the peculiarity of this fact. Is it not significant, he asks, that, though we know that in the rest of nature material objects do not cause one another to disappear completely, yet there is one set of such objects, namely the network of my nerves, which is such that a very slight change in them abolishes all the other material objects in the universe?

It might seem natural to avoid this difficulty by saying that, when there is a lesion of my nervous system or brain-cells, what happens is, not that the material objects previously perceived by me cease to exist, but that they can no longer appear to me. But this, Bergson thinks, only lands us in a fresh difficulty. If what has ceased to exist in consequence of the lesion is not the external material object, but merely my perception of it, then we shall have to suppose that our brains store up and manufacture our perceptions. And there is a classical

difficulty in the way of supposing that perceptions are caused by the brain. Perception is something mental, and the brain is something physical; and, though we have a clear idea of the interaction of physical things, as of the way in which one physical thing causes another to move, we cannot conceive the action of a physical thing on a mental thing, or *vice versa*.

This brings us to the second kind of difficulty as to the relation between mind and matter—that concerning the union of body and soul. It certainly seems as if there were some kind of very close connexion between many of my mental states and the movements of various parts of my body, so close indeed that changes in my body seem constantly to produce changes in my mind, and *vice versa*. In fact, few things seem more certain than that a mental event—for instance, the desire to drink—may be one of the causes of a series of physical events—for instance, of my raising a glass of wine and pouring the contents down my throat. Nor does it seem less certain that physical events—for instance, the action of the wine on my nerves and blood—may cause a mental event; the changes in my nerves and blood, for instance, may make me feel more cheerful. It seems certain that events like these happen; and the majority of them do not seem at all mysterious. Philosophers, however, have discovered various difficulties in understanding them. My mind, we have seen, is something with no analogy to my body; for one thing, it is not extended in space, whereas my body is. We have already noticed the puzzle as to how there can be a causal relation between the mental and the physical; when we add that the mind, with all its feelings, volitions, and perceptions, is not in space, does not seem to occupy any area, we seem to have fixed a gulf between body and mind which there is no means of bridging. What, then, can be meant by speaking of their union?

Some philosophers hold that there are no fatal objections to the common-sense view. Thus Mr McDougall argues in his book, 'Body and Mind,' that mental changes, besides causing one another, also cause bodily changes, and *vice versa*; and he tries to show that the usual scientific objection, that this hypothesis violates the law of the conservation of energy, is ill-founded. Whether

he has succeeded in showing this may be doubted. His position suffers from his coupling with it the view that the soul is an indivisible entity. This may be true; but his arguments on this head are unconvincing, and it does not seem to be the case, as he supposes, that the hypothesis of psycho-physical interaction must stand or fall with that of the unitary Ego. But we must return to Bergson.

We have noticed (though he does not state them very clearly) some of the chief difficulties which he thinks that he has solved in '*Matière et Mémoire*'; and the leading idea in his solution is as follows. Previous philosophers have failed to solve these difficulties because they have all started by assuming, in one way or another, that mind is something different in kind from matter. If mind and matter are different in kind, it must be impossible, however ingeniously we theorise, to understand what perception of a material object by a mind is, or how it arises, or how soul and body can be united; for how can there be any sort of connexion between two utterly disparate things? But suppose that mind and matter are at bottom very much the same sort of thing—and it is common sense, he says, to suppose this—then all the difficulties vanish. And one of the means by which he tries to make this supposition plausible is by pointing out that all material objects are 'images'; the material universe, he says, is composed entirely of images acting and reacting upon one another. This is, in his opinion, a first step towards understanding the connexion between mind and matter, because to realise that material objects are images is to see that mind, with its faculty of representation, has something in common with matter.

Let us first see how he applies this definition to the difficulties which occur in considering what is meant by saying that we perceive material objects. If material objects are images, then, strictly speaking, the word 'perception' will mean, he thinks, the totality of images in the universe. This totality is 'given'; that is to say, all the material objects in the universe co-exist at any one moment. But if perception is thus 'given' *de jure*, it is limited *de facto*. I do not perceive all the material objects in the universe, though all of them are acting on

that image which is my body. We have thus transposed the traditional difficulties as to perception; for we now see that what needs explanation is not why we perceive anything, but rather why we do not in practice perceive everything. And he explains this by arguing that the function of the body is to limit the life of the mind, and that with a view to action.

This idea that perception has some essential reference to action is one of Bergson's most characteristic doctrines, but owing to the extreme ambiguity of his language it is very difficult to express precisely. What he has chiefly in mind is, perhaps, the contrast between the apparently free action of human beings and the necessary mutual determination of interacting physical particles. When one lifeless material object A acts on another B, B's movement is necessarily determined according to physical or chemical laws; and this, he thinks, is the same thing as to say that B has no choice. But there have arisen in the universe (how, it will be the object of '*L'Evolution Créatrice*' to explain) material objects which are not lifeless—organised bodies of every degree of complexity from a protoplasmic cell to a man; and the movement of these bodies is determined according to no law and can be expressed by no mathematical formula. For their peculiarity is that they possess an apparatus—in vertebrates, the nervous system and brain—which enables them, on the reception of shocks from surrounding objects, to choose between a number of possible actions; they are, as he puts it, 'centres of indetermination.'

Thus the function of the brain and nerves is not in any sense to store up or engender representations, but merely to prepare the reaction of the body to the action of external objects. 'Perception,' he says, 'which progresses in proportion to the complication of the nervous system, is wholly orientated towards action, and not towards pure knowledge.' We now begin to see what 'I see a table' means. It means that, thanks to my nervous system, certain material objects, namely those which at the moment 'interest my action,' prepare in my body movements which will be useful to it. In some sense, perhaps, I might be said to perceive all the other images in the universe as well, since they too are 'given'; but it is only this small residue that I actually perceive,

the machinery of my nerves entangling, with a view to action, only those images that are important, and letting the rest slip by.

Thus, firstly, not only is the puzzle as to the object of perception solved, but also the puzzle as to what perception is. It is no longer something merely mental, so that we cannot understand how brain-states could produce it or store it up. It is part of matter; it is *in*, he constantly says, material objects themselves; it is the prolongation, with a view to action, of the complex whole formed by the external object, and the sensori-motor mechanism of my nerves and brain. And, secondly, Bergson thinks that the difficulty as to the union of soul and body is also solved. While it was impossible to understand how a cerebral state could cause a mental state, it is quite easy to see that a cerebral state can cause a perception if a perception is something physical. Soul and body can be united because at bottom they are much the same sort of thing.

Thus what Bergson thinks that he has established by this argument is, first of all, a certain view as to the nature of our minds. Our minds are not, as philosophers have got into inextricable difficulties by supposing, unextended and extra-spatial things; on the contrary, in so far as they are pure perception, they are parts of matter, and, like matter, extended in space. But he also considers himself, by the same process, to have established a certain view as to the nature of matter; just as mind, in so far as pure perception, is extended matter, so matter, in so far as perceived, is pure mind.

As it stands, however, this twofold conclusion not only lacks plausibility, but seems flatly self-contradictory. To say that mind and matter are not two different kinds of things but the same kind of thing, is not very plausible; and it seems self-contradictory to say, either of mind or of matter, that it both is extended and is not extended in space. To tone down these defects is the chief rôle of Bergson's theory of memory. So far we have spoken as if perception or sensation were the only property of our minds; but obviously our mental life is composed of many other elements besides this. In addition to perceiving, we also, for instance, think and remember; and, as he observes, pure perception never occurs in practice,

our perceptions being always mixed with memories to a greater or less extent. He brings this fact to bear on his theory about perception and matter in the following way. My mental life may vary from a state which contains almost nothing but perceptions, to one which contains almost nothing but memory. At one end of the scale is the state of things that occurs when I react to an imminent danger, as to a sudden blow threatening my eye. Here there is no memory, but a close approximation to pure perception; my mental life is narrowed down to a point and consists solely of a reflex action caused by my brain-process. But normally my mental life is immensely wider than the actions which correspond, point to point, with brain-process. At the other end of the scale is the diffused mental state which, when we merely remember or are sunk in reverie, includes no perception of a present object; and, by a process which he describes as one of dilatation and contraction, our minds range through all the stages between these two extremes. Unless perception were mixed with memory, there would be no difference at all between perception and matter; and memory, in its pure state, would be mind unalloyed.

This statement of Bergson's views has, I hope, made at any rate this much clear—that his claim that common sense is on his side must not be taken too seriously. No doubt it is common sense to think that both minds and material objects are real; but we shall presently see reason to doubt whether he is entitled even to hold this. Meanwhile, nothing could well be less in accordance with common sense than his assertion that minds and material objects are more or less like one another, matter being not so completely extended, and mind not so completely unextended, as is generally supposed. For what he means by this is not that human minds take up some room, however little, that they are of some shape, and have some size, however small; he does not regard the soul, as it has sometimes been regarded in the past, as a small object composed of highly-refined matter. What he means is merely that, when I see a table, my consciousness of the table, far from being something different in kind from the table itself, is really the same kind of thing; there is only a difference of degree between them.

And this is surely not common sense. Such, however, is his main view about what he regards as the two principal kinds of things in the universe, minds and material objects. Before examining it, a few words may be said about his last book, '*L'Evolution Créatrice*,' which, as it does not add anything essential to this position, need not detain us long.

Here we have the same view, only expressed in a more obscurely metaphorical way. While in '*Matière et Mémoire*' the opposition between mind and matter was reconciled, the gulf bridged, by the notion of alternate dilatation and contraction of the self in memory, here the reconciliation consists in supposing that both sides of the opposition spring from a common source, which is called the '*vital impulse*.' We must picture the whole of reality as a kind of movement or stream, a continuous flux of ever-new creation. This current, which it seems is identical with consciousness, gets entangled in matter, which clogs its progress and sets up a movement in the reverse direction. The object of the life-force is to extract from dead matter all it possibly can; and the chequered history of evolution is the history of this effort to make the best of the situation. Bergson pretends that this hypothesis of a life-force thwarted and thrown back on itself by collision with refractory matter enables us to see that evolution must have followed the lines it actually has followed on our planet; the hypothesis of one original impulse common to plants and animals alike involves, for instance, the subsequent divergence of the three elements of vegetative torpor, instinct, and intelligence. Of course, the force will not always be successful; there are *impasses* and throwbacks in evolution. And in fact, of the four grand branches of animal life, two have led to *impasses*; echinoderms and molluscs have renounced mobility after the manner of vegetables, and have shut themselves up in protective coverings. But arthropods and vertebrates, greatly daring, have escaped this danger; and in them life has won a victory over matter, though at the cost of an effort out of proportion to the result.

In what sense details like these could be deduced from the original impulse it is impossible to see; and it may be noticed that not all the details are even correct—for

instance, his theory, now exploded, that plants, unlike animals, feed on inorganic substances. However that may be, in all this account dead matter is evidently conceived as something different in kind from the life-force or consciousness of which it hampers the progress; and in that case the gulf between matter and mind, which he aimed at bridging, will have opened again. But he bridges it again, this time by defining matter in terms of the psychic movement; the word 'matter' means merely an 'interruption or inversion' of that movement. Matter, which seems positive to the physicist or geometrician, is an interruption or inversion of that true positivity which can only be expressed in psychic terms. In short his cosmology, he says, is an 'inverted psychology.'

To sum up, 'Les Données' describes the nature of mind. The object of 'Matière et Mémoire' is to solve the difficulties as to the relation between mind and matter by proving that there is an affinity between them—an affinity expressed by taking them as the two extreme terms of a graduated scale. In 'L'Évolution Créatrice' we have the same conception, with, in addition, the notion that reality, so far as mental, is a movement in a certain direction, and, so far as material, a movement in the opposite direction. Thus the demands of common-sense dualism, which takes both mind and matter to be real, are met, and, at the same time, the philosophical difficulties as to their connexion are explained. Is this a tenable position?

It would be possible, taking one by one the points in which Bergson discovers an affinity between matter and mind—as, for instance, his initial assumption that material objects are images—to argue that such plausibility as his theory possesses depends in every case on a confusion of ideas. But this would be a tedious process, and I think we can see, without going into details, that the whole position is untenable. For through all three books there runs an argument, to which he attaches the greatest importance, and which can only prove, if it can prove anything, that nothing whatever is real, in any sense of the word, except minds—not time, nor space, nor even material objects. He is therefore

mistaken in calling his philosophy a common-sense dualism. His philosophy might indeed still be a true description of the universe; he might have discovered, though without realising it, good reasons for thinking that nothing whatever exists except our minds. Even if he had failed in doing this, he might still have succeeded in giving a true description of part of the universe; his account, that is to say, of the nature of our minds might still be correct. I shall therefore try to point out that his philosophy fails in both these respects; since the argument in question, which might have led him to conclude that nothing is real except our minds, and which also underlies his account of the nature of our minds, can be seen to be quite valueless.

One of the most stubborn of our beliefs is that material objects exist independently of our minds, that they have the property of being real whether any mind is conscious of them or not; even the philosopher who sees reason to deny this cannot, as Hume confessed, prevent himself from believing it in practice. Another belief which is held widely, though not perhaps so strongly and clearly as in the case of material objects, is that space and time also are real independently of any mind; that physical events may occur in time, and that physical objects may be situated in space, whether or not any mind is aware of these facts. And we must notice first of all, what Bergson himself never makes clear, that his view flatly contradicts these stubborn beliefs, since it denies that time or space or material objects can be real in the sense of existing independently of any mind. As regards time, he would no doubt admit this; for he thinks that the time with which scientific calculations deal, and which we take to be the time of our everyday life, is not real in any sense; and 'real duration,' he says, is only 'for a mind.' As to space, though he thinks that it is real in some sense, it is plain that he cannot mean it to be real independently of our minds; for he holds, as Kant did, that space is merely a 'form of our sensibility,'* a way in which our minds arrange things; and, if so, it would seem that space cannot be real except when some

* He tries to distinguish his view from Kant's by saying that, while Kant's space is a 'ready-made' form, his is a form which 'is being made.' But I do not think this difference affects the argument.

mind is arranging things in it. Thus, in any case, his view, whether true or not, will not be identical with common sense. There remains, it is true, one sense in which, even if space is merely a form of our sensibility, both it and the material objects in it might be called real; only he does not notice that his principal argument excludes the possibility of their being real even so.

This sense, in which material objects in space might be called real, even if space is only a form of our sensibility, is as follows. When Bergson says that we lend spatial forms to the external world, or that we fit matter into spatial forms, he might mean that the mind gives spatial properties to material objects, so that, at the moment when the mind does this, the objects actually have those properties. But let us see what this involves. That mind is the cause of matter being in space, that mind is the cause of all the causal relations that hold between physical events, that mind is the cause of one material object's being a different object from another, and that mind (owing to his theory of the connexion between number and spatial magnitude) is the cause of $2 + 2$ being equal to 4—all these incredible consequences, and many others, are involved in his saying that matter actually has the properties which mind at any moment gives to it. I think that, if Bergson had realised that such consequences as these followed from his holding both that space is a form of our sensibility and that matter is really extended in space, he would not have tried to combine these views; if he had seen clearly that he must mean that our minds, for instance, make the earth go round the sun, and are the cause of the sun being outside our bodies rather than inside them, he would either have thrown overboard the Kantian doctrine of space, or would have given up his claim to agree with common sense. As it is, he tries to combine the two; and it is interesting to notice what makes the combination seem possible and plausible. Part of what he means by saying that space is a form of our sensibility is that *we think* that matter has spatial properties. Now that we do think this cannot be denied; but, unless one is on one's guard, this undoubtedly true statement is easily confused with the statement that our minds give spatial properties to matter; to say that *we think* matter

has spatial properties easily seems to be the same thing as saying that *we give* those properties to matter. But, of course, they are not the same thing. If we do give properties to matter, then matter has those properties at the moment; and that matter actually has certain properties is evidently not the same fact as that we think it has them; for what we think may be mistaken.

The whole plausibility of combining the Kantian doctrine of space with the view that material objects are really in space depends, I think, on this confusion, which is no doubt a very easy one to make; Bergson is by no means the first philosopher who has fallen into it. At the same time it is odd that he should have fallen into it, because the principal argument in all his three books is to the effect that 'I think so and so' cannot possibly mean 'So and so is true.' According to this argument, the fact that our minds entertain certain beliefs is not only not the same fact as that the beliefs are true, but is actually some evidence that the beliefs are false—a consideration which ought to have made it perfectly plain to him that our thinking that matter has spatial properties is not the same fact as that matter has them. When this is clearly seen, it ceases to be plausible to suppose that, if space is a form of our sensibility, material objects extended in space are real in any sense whatever. What is more—and this makes the whole confusion still more curious—the argument in question proves, if it can prove anything, that, when we think that material objects are real, or that they are situated in space, we must be mistaken. To this argument we must now turn.

Starting from the assumption that our minds have been developed primarily with a view to action, rather than to pure knowledge or speculation, Bergson infers that, owing to 'the prejudices of action,' our whole conception of the nature of reality, whether of our minds, of material objects, of space or of time, is radically vitiated. In order to understand reality, then, we must divest ourselves of these prejudices. Take the case of our own minds. To cut up the continuity of the external world into definite shapes and pieces, which we call material objects, helps us to act successfully on things; therefore our minds persistently do this, and, because the external

world plays a dominant part in our lives, we tend to transfer back to ourselves the characteristics we have given it. We tend, that is to say, though our mental life is really a process, to think of it as statically extended over a series of exactly similar points, each distinct from the others (this is, he thinks, the current notion of time); though it is really a complex of qualities, we tend to think of it quantitatively, as when we ascribe magnitude of intensity to our sensations; though it is only 'voluntarily' determined, we tend to think of it as subject to mechanical causation. And all these mistakes we make because it is useful to do so; if we did not, on the model of the external world, split up and solidify our mental life in these ways, language could never have been evolved, and social intercourse would be impossible.

Thus we cannot understand the real nature of our minds unless we get rid of the ingrained 'prejudices of action.' But then, exactly the same effort is required if we are to understand the real nature of the external world. It is only because 'life imperiously demands action' that we regard matter as split up into distinct parts, each in turn capable of being divided *ad infinitum*. This is especially the procedure of science, which on Bergson's view can only have a symbolical or conventional truth. Because it is useful to formulate scientific laws, we extend matter in space, immobilising, as he puts it, and solidifying the continuity of the real by spreading under it the form of homogeneous space. The essence of the argument is, in short, that our minds are so constituted that they inveterately fall into certain mistakes both about themselves and material objects; we cannot help falsely supposing that our mental states are different from one another and that different material objects are situated in different parts of space. This is particularly clear from the form in which Bergson finally puts it. He discusses the meaning of the word Nothing, and decides that it can only mean what is not useful to me, what does not interest my action. But it is useful to fancy that Nothing is the opposite of Being or reality; and hence we come falsely to think of reality itself as the opposite of Nothing—that is to say, as something 'statically given.'

It will be seen that mind and matter are not intended

by him to be affected by this argument in quite the same way; for, while his object is to show that, if we think that any material objects, distinct from one another, exist anywhere in space, we must be mistaken, he admits the reality of our minds, though on condition of their being very unlike what is usually believed. And so many subordinate arguments as to the nature of our minds are connected with the theory that action is their primary function, that we must say something about the chief of these points separately before dealing with the main argument.

In the first place, we saw that Bergson's psychological theories were based partly on a certain theory as to the subject-matter of mathematics; numbers are applicable only to quantities, and quantity is something extended in space; therefore our mental states, being purely qualitative, cannot be numbered. It may be observed in passing that mental states are not qualities; Bergson only calls them qualities because he fails to distinguish between the act of sensation and the object which is given through sensation, confusing blue, for instance, which is a quality, with my sensation of blue. And the assertion that numbers have some essential reference to quantity is at variance with modern mathematical theory. An acquaintance with mathematical theory, however, is scarcely required to see that to assign a number to a set of things is not the same thing as to arrange them side by side in space.

Nor, again, does it seem to be true that every 'purely homogeneous medium' must be indistinguishable from space. We are just as familiar with the temporal relations of 'before' and 'after' as with the spatial relations of 'to the left of' and 'to the right of'; and Bergson gives no tangible reason for his assertion that the idea of a series of moments before and after one another is merely a false analogy from a series of points to the left and to the right of one another. Thus there is no foundation for his view that, when I say that I perform different mental acts at different times, all I can mean is that my mental acts are juxtaposed in space. Yet this was the chief argument in favour of free will. Nothing, he thinks, can cause a mental act, which therefore must be self-caused; for to call it the effect of anything can only mean that it is a material object in space. Thus Bergson's account of the nature of our minds breaks down at all the main points.

When we count our mental states, or think of them as different from one another, or suppose them to occur at different points of time, or suppose them to be subject to the law of cause and effect, it is not true that all we can mean must be something obviously false, namely, that our mental states are material objects situated in space. In other words, he has given no good reason for thinking that the nature of our minds is something very different from what it is usually supposed to be.

Finally, the general argument that action is the primary function of our minds, and that consequently we cannot help entertaining false beliefs both about our minds and about material objects, is easily seen to be completely fallacious. The premiss is that what has caused us to hold certain beliefs is merely the fact that it is useful to do so; that, if it had not been for the 'necessities of action,' we should never have come to think that our mental states, for instance, are sometimes distinct from or causally related to one another, or that different material objects are situated in different parts of space. A good deal might be said about this premiss itself; it is, to say the least of it, very doubtful that what has caused us to hold these beliefs is merely the fact of their utility. However, we need not discuss the premiss, because it is obvious that, even if it were true, the conclusion would not follow from it. It does not follow that, because we cannot help believing certain things, those beliefs are even probably false; merely from the fact (if it be a fact) that our minds are so constituted that they cannot help taking a certain kind of view of reality, no inference of any sort is possible as to either the truth or the falsity of that view. It may seem surprising that Bergson should in any case have thought it possible to infer, from the constitution of our minds, that our views are not merely probably but certainly false, because, as we have seen, he holds both that space is a mere form in which we cannot help arranging things, and that material objects really are in space. Why, then, should he think that the fact of our strongly tending to believe certain things shows those beliefs to be false?

With this question we have at last reached the heart of his position. The reason is that, in arguing that our

minds have been developed with a view to action, he thinks that he has *ipso facto* proved that *all* our beliefs are false. For instance, the language he constantly holds as to the danger of taking 'intelligence' for our guide seems to make it plain that part, at all events, of his meaning, when he says that our minds are 'orientated towards action rather than pure knowledge,' is that no belief to which our intellect assents can be true. One way in which he often puts it is that 'life overflows intelligence.' The understanding, with its convenient clear-cut distinctions, leaves out the very secret of reality; all our logical concepts and categories are falsifications which can never adequately represent the real; nay, merely to mention anything is to depart from the truth, for language is the instrument of intelligence, and can only express instantaneous solidifications, made for convenience' sake, in a flux in which there are no real moments.

These and similar ways of expressing the non-amenability of any reality to the operations of intellect seem to imply that it is impossible to reason validly about anything, and that, whenever we think our opinions are correct, we must be mistaken; and from this it will of course follow that common-sense beliefs about our minds and material objects are false. But it will also follow that, when Bergson thinks that everything flows into and fuses with everything else, and that there are no definite distinctions between any two things in the universe, not even between minds and material objects, not only must he be incapable of proving this according to ordinary principles of inference (that he would admit), but he must be mistaken in believing it to be true. To some extent, indeed, he is aware of this consequence; in one passage ('Creative Evolution,' p. 202) he expressly faces the objection that, if reality is irrational, all philosophical reasoning, all attempts, as he puts it, to get beyond intelligence by means of intelligence, must turn in a circle. His reply is that philosophy is like swimming; until you jump into the water you never know whether you can swim or not. Similarly, until we try we never know what we can do in the way of constructing valid proofs involving vicious circles; and he urges that, instead of standing shivering on the bank, the proper course is to construct our proof, vicious circle and all, and see whether it works. If this is

a proper method, the outlook for philosophy is gloomy, since no general description of the universe reached in this way is likely to deserve the name of knowledge. I have tried to show that Bergson's description, at all events, is as unsuccessful as it is ambitious. We saw reason to doubt the correctness of his account of the nature of our minds; and his answer to the question whether the universe contains any other things (material objects, for instance) in addition to our minds is ambiguous, and can therefore throw no light on the problems as to the relation between our minds and material objects.

But, of course, most readers of philosophy do not merely desire to get clear conceptions as to the nature of the universe; they want to be emotionally stimulated or consoled, and they like, above all, the kind of satisfaction that comes from trains of ideas that seem to be illuminating but shift and dissolve before the attention is fatigued by the effort to discover what exactly it is that they illuminate. Bergson's work is rich in charm of this sort; his skill in manipulating ideas so as to create the impression of having taken us behind the veil is prodigious. Extremely attractive, again, is the conviction he always expresses that it is not arduous thought, but living and acting, that gives us the key to reality. This thesis, so consoling to all who are too tired to think, is the background of his philosophy; it even, as we may not, in conclusion, underlies his attempt to define the essence of the comic. All life is action, a fluid process of incessant adaptation; and the book on 'Laughter' ingeniously traces every form of the comic to a common root, namely, the introduction of rigidity into the vital flux. The definition may not look promising, but with incredible deftness he gradually makes it plausible; it is like watching a conjuror toss glittering balls. Where, as here, the subject is so elusive as scarcely to admit of precise treatment, Bergson is perhaps most successful; his gifts of imagination and eloquence can have full play, and we are not made uneasy by the absence of logical rigour.

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Art. 8.—THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION.

1. *Report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the Steel Industry. Part I. Organisation, Investment, Profits, and Position of the United States Steel Corporation.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911.
2. *Report on the Strike at Bethlehem Steel Works, South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.* Prepared under the direction of Charles P. Neill, Commissioner of Labor. Washington: G.P.O., 1910.
3. *Hearings before the Committee on Investigation of the United States Steel Corporation. House of Representatives.* Bulletins 1-24. Washington: G.P.O., 1911.
4. *The Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company.* By J. H. Bridge, New York: Aldine Book Co., 1903.
5. *The Romance of Steel.* By Herbert N. Casson. New York: Barnes, 1907. London: Grant Richards, 1908.
6. *The United States Steel Corporation.* By Abraham Berglund, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1907. London: King and Son.
7. *The Steel Workers.* By John A. Fitch. New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1910.

BETWEEN 54 and 55 per cent. of the 27,250,000 tons of pig-iron and 24,000,000 tons of steel manufactured and marketed in the United States or sold abroad in 1910 were the product of the mines, furnaces and mills of the United States Steel Corporation. This gigantic concern, so powerful in industry, finance and politics in the United States, was organised in 1901. To-day the Steel Corporation, long colloquially known as the Steel Trust, controls from its headquarters in New York what before 1898 were 205 independently organised and independently managed mining, lake-shipping, railway, and iron and steel manufacturing undertakings. Its mining, transport and manufacturing enterprises are to-day established in eighteen States. In a normal year, when business is good, the employees of the Steel Corporation number 236,000; and its \$1,400,000,000 (280,000,000*l.*) of bonds and shares are now held by nearly 100,000 investors.

Ever since the Steel Corporation was organised in 1901 its unprecedented size and its absolute completeness

as a manufacturing undertaking, its enormous capitalisation and its large earnings, its power in New York finance, its gigantic operations, its control over supplies of ore and coal and over rail and water transport, its domination of the iron and steel industry in the United States, its influence on the industry in Great Britain and Germany, its nearness to the United States Government, its labour and tariff policies, and its relations with the railway companies, have attracted world-wide attention. Hundreds of review and magazine articles, published in many countries and in as many languages, have been written about it; and a veritable library of monographs on different aspects of the Steel Corporation—some popular, others scholarly in their treatment and based on much research—has accumulated in the last ten years.

At Washington, however, the Steel Corporation, except in 1909, when the tariff was revised and a new concession of much value (in regard to structural steel) was made to it, attracted little or no continuous attention until 1910 and 1911. Concern then began to be manifested in Congress as to how this gigantic industrial corporation came into being, as to its capitalisation and its earnings, as to how it had used its enormous power during the financial panic of 1907, as to how it was using its power of making and maintaining prices for steel rails and other of its products, and also as to how far the Steel Corporation, acting in close association with a group of large iron and steel companies known since 1901 as the Independents, was using its control, with the aid of the protective tariff, to create a monopoly in the iron and steel industry of the United States.

From 1897 to March 1911 the Republican party was in control of the Administration at Washington; and in these years it had also a large majority in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. The Republican party since 1860, and increasingly since 1890, has always been in close association with what are to-day described in the United States as the 'big business interests.' These interests subscribe secretly but liberally to the campaign funds of the Republican party at Congressional and Presidential elections, and receive their *quid pro quo* at the revisions of the tariff. In the face of this alliance there was little disposition on the part of

the Republican leaders to take any action at all adverse to the Steel Corporation or to the other great iron and steel companies which, in association with the Steel Corporation, as the history of prices since 1901 adequately proves, so easily control the industry. Nevertheless, some time before the Republicans lost their majority in both the House and the Senate, a detailed report on the organisation, investments, profits and position of the Steel Corporation was called for at the instance of the Senate from the Bureau of Corporations, a division of the Department of Commerce and Labour at Washington. While this report was in preparation, and before it had been published by the Bureau, the Democrats came into power (April 1911).

This party, while in opposition, had long desired an investigation of the Steel Corporation, for they attribute much of its power to the high duties in the tariff since 1897; and they were, moreover, anxious for an investigation of the circumstances in which, at the crisis in the financial panic in New York of October 1907, the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, with large areas of coal and ore lands in Alabama, and furnaces and mills at Birmingham in that State, became merged in the Steel Corporation. But, had a Democratic member at any time between the organisation of the Steel Corporation (1901) and March 1911 moved for an investigation of the Corporation by a Congressional Committee, the 'big business interests' Republicans, who invariably stigmatise such enquiries as 'muck-raking,' would have promptly and successfully opposed the demand. When the Democrats were once in full command of the House of Representatives, there was no longer any obstacle to a committee of enquiry; and accordingly, on May 27, 1911, a special committee of seven members—four Democrats and three Republicans—with Mr A. O. Stanley of Kentucky as chairman, began an exhaustive enquiry (the evidence being given on oath) into the organisation and operation of the Steel Corporation, financial, industrial and political, since 1901. While the Stanley Committee, which has powers nearly as large as those of an English Parliamentary Committee, was still at work, the first part of the report of the Bureau of Corporations on the Steel Corporation was made public, and embodied

in the official verbatim report of the proceedings of the Stanley Committee.

When Congress adjourned (August 23), there had been twenty-four sittings of the Stanley Committee, at which every man prominent in the organisation of the Steel Corporation, or in its management since 1901, who was in the United States in the summer of 1911, had been called as a witness and fully examined; and many important letters, minutes and other documents had been laid before the Committee and made part of its records. Twenty-four official bulletins, with the evidence printed verbatim, and all the documents included, had been published; so that at the end of the extra session of 1911 there were in these two sets of official reports, quite apart from the non-official monographs that have been published in the last ten years, all the data necessary to a fairly complete history of the Steel Corporation from 1901 to 1911. It is largely on these reports and monographs that what follows is based.

Before, however, this history can be narrated with even the slight detail that is admissible in these pages, it seems desirable to sketch briefly the history of the iron and steel industry in the United States previous to the formation of the Steel Corporation. It is unnecessary for this purpose to go further back than 1890. This was the year in which the British Iron and Steel Institute, which has long had many American members, made its first visit to the United States. The second visit was in 1904 three years after the Steel Corporation had been formed and had absorbed many of the companies whose guests the Institute had been in 1890. In that year, when the production of pig-iron was nearly 9,250,000 tons and that of steel a little over 4,250,000 tons, there were not more than nine or ten large companies engaged in both the primary and secondary stages of the iron and steel industry. The most important plants—all that were regarded, by reason of their location, their size and their equipment, as of interest to the members of the Institute—were those of the Maryland Steel Company at Baltimore, the Pennsylvania Company at Harrisburg, the Cambria Company at Johnstown (Pennsylvania), the Carnegie and the Jones and Laughlin Companies at Pittsburgh, the

Illinois Company at Chicago and Joliet, and the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company at Birmingham (Alabama), which, in 1890, was the only company with both furnaces and mills south of Mason and Dixon's line.

In 1890 the demand for ore at all the American furnaces together amounted to 16,000,000, tons. Of this quantity only 9,000,000 tons came from the Lake Superior country—a fact of much significance in any retrospect of the American iron and steel industry, because, in the year 1910, of the 51,000,000 tons of ore used at American furnaces, nearly 43,500,000 tons came from that region; and because all the great developments in the industry in the last twenty years, physical, strategic and financial, have been contemporaneous with, and to some extent due to, this change in the source of supply of ore.

High protection had been afforded to the iron and steel industry in all tariffs since 1861. The climax of the protectionist movement, before the Dingley tariff was enacted in 1897, was reached in the year 1890. The McKinley tariff of that year increased duties all through the schedules. For the protection of American manufacturers the tariff of 1890 imposed a duty per ton of \$6 on pig-iron; from \$16 to \$20 on bar-iron; \$16 on wire rods; \$12 on charcoal iron; \$10 to \$18 on structural steel; equally large duties on iron and steel plates; and \$12 on rails.

Such were the fiscal conditions of the industry in 1890. As to material conditions and methods, the equipment of American furnaces and mills, and furnace and mill practice, differed but little from the equipment and practice of English and Scottish furnaces and mills. Automatic machinery, which in the last fifteen or sixteen years has so largely reduced labour costs in the iron and steel industry and at the same time eliminated much of the brutal toil of the older period, had scarcely begun to be introduced. The old method of charging a blast furnace, which involved the labour of men on the upper platform to tip the charge into the stack, was still followed, with all the noisome and exhausting work and the risk to life and limb attendant upon it. A cast was still made as it had been in the early years of the seventeenth century, when the Foleys set up their furnace at Stourbridge. All the coke used at the furnaces was the product of exhausting labour at beehive ovens; and electricity

had not yet been introduced, either at the blast furnaces, the open-hearth furnaces, or the rolling mills. Natural gas for use as fuel and at the soaking pits was about the only advantage that American iron and steel plants had over similar plants in the Midlands, the North of England, and in Scotland. Transport equipment by rail and water, and machinery for loading and unloading, were of the old style of the period before the ore carried down the Great Lakes reached the ten-million ton mark in 1895; and there was little, except size of railway cars, to differentiate it from the equipment used at this time in the iron and steel industry of England and Scotland.

Most of the great changes in mechanical equipment at the ore-mines in the Lake Superior country, at the ore docks of the harbours on the lake, in the steamers for the lake trade designed and built expressly for that service—great floating storehouses, 600 feet long, with the main decks all hatches to facilitate loading and unloading, and the engine-rooms well to the stern—in the unloading machinery at the lower lake ports from which ore is carried to the lakeside furnaces or shipped by rail to furnaces inland, and in the construction of the sixty-ton hopper-bottom steel railway-cars used for this service—all these improvements in transport were made in the decade between the visit of the Iron and Steel Institute and the organisation of the Steel Corporation. So were the electrically-propelled automatic machinery for charging the furnaces, the pig-lifting and pig-breaking machines, the pig-metal casting machine, and the metal mixer of enormous capacity. These four machines, with the somewhat later mud-gun for filling up the tap-hole of a furnace after a cast has been taken, have done much to humanise the iron and steel industry. The pig-metal caster and the mixer made a free Sunday possible for most men at all stages of the industry beyond the blast furnace; while the automatic charging machinery, in use to-day at all except about three furnaces in the United States and Canada, liberated men from exposure to weather and fumes on the platforms of the older type of furnace, and from the danger attendant on the 'slipping' of a charge in a blast furnace—the descent of hunks of limestone and ore that are hurled into the air when such a 'slip' occurs.

The application of electrical power when the open-hearth furnaces are charged partly with scrap; at the stripper, where the ingots from the Bessemer converters or the open-hearth furnaces reluctantly part company from the great moulds in which they have been cast; at the soaking pits and the re-heating furnaces; and at the rail, billet and plate mills, was also introduced during this period. To the same period belong the continuous rail and wire-rod mills. These are the mills in which there is no re-heating of the ingot or the bloom, and no interruption, in the case of the wire-rod mill, in the progress from the charge of coke, limestone and ore going into the blast furnace—perhaps two or three miles away from the rod mill—until the rod, ready for the wire-drawer, is loaded on the railway car in which it is carried to the wire-drawing mill, where the processes are much as they were before all these improvements had revolutionised iron and steel manufacturing in the primary and in many of the secondary stages. All, or nearly all, of these improvements belong to the ten years that preceded the organisation of the Steel Corporation.

But these devices and improvements, taken in conjunction with the great reduction in labour costs and the incidental humanising of labour conditions, are of significance from other points of view. They account for the facts that the proportion of skilled to unskilled labour in the industry has decreased since 1890; that in 1910 not more than 40 per cent. of the men in the industry earned over \$2 a day, and only 4 per cent. earned over \$5 a day; that English-speaking unskilled labourers have been completely displaced by Slavs and Magyars—‘Hunkies’ and ‘Guineas,’ as they are colloquially called at the plants; that American-born men have come to regard it as degrading to compete with Slavs or Magyars for a job; and, perhaps most important of all, that trade unionism, strong until 1892, has been completely banished from the iron and steel industry.* Besides these changes there occurred in the iron and steel industry, in the decade from 1890 to 1900, four other developments of great importance in the history of our subject. These were the enormous expansion of the industry, the beginning

* Cf. Fitch, ‘The Steel Workers,’ pp. 4, 142-3, 145, 165,

of the export trade, the revisions of the tariff in 1894 and 1897, and the beginning of the consolidations that culminated in the Steel Corporation. We will take these events in the order given.

I. The break-up of the unions was the great contribution of the Carnegie Company to the economy of the iron and steel industry in the United States between 1890 and 1901. Between 1880 and 1890 all the mills in Alleghany county, Pennsylvania—the county of which Pittsburgh is the centre—were unionised. In the years 1880–1890 the list of manufacturers who signed the union scale was practically a list of the men engaged in the business.

‘There were’ (writes Mr Fitch, p. 87) ‘difficulties and strikes occasionally; there was a long and determined strike in the summer of 1882; and now and then there was a lock-out. But, upon the whole, this decade was the period of most effective agreement between the employers and the men that the National Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, a federation of unions organised in 1875, ever experienced. Each knew and respected the strength of the other; and, while hard blows were dealt on both sides, there was much mutual confidence and goodwill.’

These years of mutual confidence and goodwill were also the years in which employers and employed were a unit in Federal politics; when there was a close political association between the Pittsburgh iron and steel masters and the trade-union leaders: when large delegations of both employers and trade-union leaders went to Washington, either to demand increased protection for the iron and steel industry or to urge that there should be no reductions in the high duties in the iron and steel schedules of the tariffs that preceded the McKinley Act of 1890. The Republicans, who were continuously in power at Washington from 1861 to 1885, ‘brooded lovingly over the industries which paid their owners fifty to a hundred per cent. per annum.’* But in these years, when the Democrats were recovering from the demoralisation which followed the Civil War, they continuously assailed the protective duties which made these financial returns possible; and the iron and steel

* J. H. Bridge, ‘Inside History of the Carnegie Steel Company,’ p. 114.

magnates of those days, who knew themselves to be what Mr Carnegie in June 1884 described as 'creatures of the tariffs,' regarded it as necessary to carry big and enthusiastic delegations of the trade-unionists to Washington to plead for high duties to safeguard labour in the United States from the competition of the 'pauper labour' of England. The result was quite worth the cost. In the early eighties, as a result of the growing demand for steel rails and of the duty of \$14 a ton, intended to keep out British competition, rails that cost \$34 to \$38.50 to make at Pittsburgh were selling at an average price of \$56.26; and the profits of the Carnegie Company rose from \$512,000 in 1879 to \$2,000,000 in 1881. 'But for the tariff these enormous gains would have been impossible.'*

With the rupture between the Carnegie Company and the unions came the introduction of labour-saving machinery. 'It was a conflict between the old way and the new way—between the production by muscle and sweat and production by automatic machinery.'†

'Up to the summer of 1889, the wages of workers making merchant steel, or steel to take the place of merchant iron' (writes Mr Bridge, pp. 199–202), 'had not been put upon a settled basis. At first the work was done in iron-mills; and after some discussion the same wages were paid as were given for working iron. With the building of mills especially to work Bessemer and open-hearth steel into merchant sizes and shapes, and with their improved machinery and appliances, the output per worker was very largely increased; and, as the wages were based on tonnage, earnings had grown beyond all reason. Rollers and heaters, for instance, were earning from five to ten times as much as the skilled mechanics who had erected the machinery on which the former worked. . . . During this time some of the men earned from \$12 to \$15 a day; and Homestead became familiar with the sight of steel workers being driven to the mill in their carriages.'

A general reduction amounting to about 25 per cent. was therefore proposed by the firm; and a suggestion was made for the automatic regulation of future wages by a scale which should follow from month to month the movement of the prices received by the firm for raw

* *Ib.* p. 102.

† Casson, p. 132.

steel. 'This was naturally resisted by the tonnage men; and both sides prepared for the struggle which seemed unavoidable' (Bridge, *ib.*). The existing wages scale had still some time to run, and it was April 1892 before the policy of the company was decided upon. What it would be was laid down in a communication from Mr Andrew Carnegie, written from New York, on April 4, 1892, with a view to its being posted at the works.

'These works' (it ran) 'having been consolidated with the Edgar Thomson and Duquesne and other mills, there has been forced upon this firm the question whether its works are to be run "union" or "non-union." As the vast majority of our employees are non-union, the firm has decided that the minority must give place to the majority. These works, therefore, will be necessarily non-union after the expiration of the present agreement. . . . This action is not taken in any spirit of hostility to labor organisations; but every man will see that the firm cannot run union and non-union. It must be either one or the other.'

The notice of which this was the original draft was not posted.* Mr Henry C. Frick, then Mr Carnegie's most prominent and active associate in the Carnegie Steel Company, disapproved of it; and the workmen, instead of being threatened with the immediate non-unionising of the mills, were given until June 24 to decide whether they would accept a new agreement embodying certain reductions in the wages. Mr Frick, in his anxiety to avoid a strike, met the representatives of the Amalgamated Association on June 23; but, although the wages of only 325 men out of the 3800 were affected by the proposed scale, the conference was fruitless, and the men immediately concerned stopped work. Mechanics, labourers, and other employees, who had contracts with the company, and whose wages were not affected by the new scale, were ordered out by the advisory committee of the Amalgamated Association until the Association should be recognised and its terms accepted. It being evident that the order would be obeyed, the Carnegie Company gradually closed several of the departments; and by July 1 there was not a wheel turning nor a furnace alight in the entire Homestead plant.

* It was not made public till 1903 (Bridge, *op. cit.* p. 204).

'As to the justice of the Company's demands' (writes Mr Bridge, p. 207), 'there is no question. The price of all the products of the Homestead mills had fallen, during the term of the last agreement, from 16 to 39 per cent., and billets had dropped from \$27 a ton to \$22. Under the old agreement, there was no decline in wages after billets had fallen below \$25 a ton, no matter how low prices went; and the Steel Company not unreasonably claimed that, as they were willing to pay proportionate wages when prices rose, the men ought to accept reductions to a reasonable point when prices declined.'

As soon as the mills were closed, the strikers took the aggressive to prevent other men being brought in to fill their places. There was war, and all the accompaniments of war—barbed-wire defences, fighting at the works, fighting on the Monangahela river, and fighting in the streets—from July 1 to July 12. But the Company had strong support. Eight thousand troops—an entire division of the National Guard of the State of Pennsylvania—went to the aid of the sheriff of Alleghany county on July 12. This turned the scale. The open reign of terror at Homestead came to an end; and the Carnegie officials were put in possession of their property.

By this success the policy which Mr Carnegie had urged in his communication from New York—the non-unionising of the mills—was secured. By this success also, which, by the way, largely conduced to the defeat of the Republican party at the Congressional and Presidential elections in November 1892, the Carnegie Company, as it was constituted and managed in the months of April–June 1892, made its most outstanding contribution to the general economy of the iron and steel industry and to the industrial civilisation of the United States. In particular, the triumph of the Carnegie Company—the honours of which must be divided between Mr Frick, who stayed on the spot and was wounded, and Mr Carnegie, who issued his commands from various pleasant places in the British Isles—made it possible for the Steel Corporation to adopt that attitude towards all union labour which it has consistently maintained since 1901.

After the defeat of 1892, it is true, unionism lingered on in the sheet and tinplate mills, which are included in the secondary stage of the industry. But in June 1909,

when a contract between the Amalgamated Association and a subsidiary company of the United States Steel Corporation engaged in tinplate manufacture expired, the Steel Corporation refused to have any further dealings with the union.

'The men in the union' (writes Mr Fitch, *op. cit.* p. 135) 'promptly went out on strike, and succeeded in tying up a number of sheet and tinplate plants, though the larger number were operated with non-union men. The men held together remarkably well; but in August 1910, after nearly fourteen months, the strike was declared off by the Amalgamated Association. This action marked the absolute elimination of unionism from the mills of the United States Steel Corporation.'

The Corporation now employs a little over half of the men who are at work in the iron and steel industry in the United States. But it recognises no unions; and as, since 1901, it has with the aid of the tariff and of its cordial relations with British, German and Belgian iron and steel companies, determined for itself what shall be a reasonable profit on its undertakings, and has, for almost as long, persuaded the larger independent iron and steel companies to accept a similar view,* it holds tenaciously to the conviction that it can equally determine what is a reasonable wage and what are reasonable working conditions for its workpeople, without any intervention on the part of trade unions. This policy has succeeded. There are no unions at the works of the Steel Corporation; and attempts to organise them have been made impossible through a system of espionage.

'Unionism' (says Mr Fitch, pp. 17, 18) 'is not entirely dead in the mill towns; at least the spirit of it is to be found among the men, though the form is absent. Some of them expect to see again an organisation in the mills. Others have given up hope of gaining shorter hours or higher wages through collective bargaining, and are looking for government interference and a legal eight hours day. A good many men in the mills are Socialists at heart; and, though they still vote the Republican ticket, they would vote with the Socialists if that party were to manifest strength enough to give it a chance

* Cf. Stanley Committee, Bulletin No. III, 94, 95, and V, 264-6.

of carrying an election. A considerable number have gone the whole way and are active working Socialists.'

Mr Fitch, in examining the influence of this system at the Homestead mills, says further (ib. 214-17):

'I doubt whether you could find a more suspicious body of men than the employees of the United States Steel Corporation. They are suspicious of one another, of their neighbours, and of their friends. . . . The steel workers do not dare openly to express their convictions. They do not dare assemble and talk over affairs pertaining to their welfare as mill men. They feel that they are living always in the presence of a hostile critic. They are a generous, open-hearted set of men upon the whole. The skilled men are intelligent, and are able and glad to talk upon a variety of subjects. But let the conversation be shifted to the steel works, and they immediately become reticent. . . . Everywhere, even among the comparatively unintelligent, there is the same suspicion.'

II. Only one small group of figures is necessary to set forth the enormous growth of the iron and steel industry from 1890 to 1900. In 1890, as has already been stated, iron ore used in the American furnaces totalled 16,000,000 tons, from which there were produced some 9,000,000 tons of pig-iron, and, with the addition of scrap, a little over 4,250,000 tons of steel. In the year that preceded the organisation of the Steel Corporation 27,500,000 tons of ore were used, of which over 19,000,000 tons were drawn from the mines of the Lake Superior country. The production of pig-iron in 1900 was a little over 13,750,000 tons; and that of steel nearly 10,200,000 tons, or more than double the amount produced in the year 1890, in which the British Iron and Steel Institute made its first tour of the mines, furnaces and mills of the United States.

III. It was in 1897 that rails and billets were first exported oversea from the United States in amounts sufficiently large to attract notice. There were no rail mills in Canada until 1904, when a mill at Sydney, Cape Breton, and another at Sault Ste Marie, Ontario, began simultaneously, under the impetus of liberal bounties from the Dominion Government, to meet the larger part of the demand for steel rails in Canada. Before 1904 rails had been on the free list; and for many years all Canadian railways were

laid with rails from England and Scotland. After 1896, however, comparatively few of the rails imported into Canada came from British mills, for about this time orders from Canadian railway companies began to go to the United States; and the mills at Pittsburgh and Chicago had done a considerable business with Canada before large shipments of rails from American mills to England and British colonies other than the Dominion of Canada began, in 1897-8.

About this time there was trouble in the old Rail Association which distributed business among the different rail-making companies and kept up prices to the railway companies. 'Gentlemen's agreements' were temporarily out of fashion. Every rail-mill company was fighting for its own hand; and Bessemer rails, made at as low a cost as \$12·50, were selling as low as \$16 a ton.* In 1908 Mr Carnegie stated that he sold rails at this price about this time, and made a profit.† Under these circumstances it would not be safe to say that these oversea shipments of rails in 1897-8 were 'dumped.' It is a matter of fact, however, that most oversea shipments since 1901, when \$28 became, as it is now, the fixed price for Bessemer rails, have been dumped, if dumping is to be understood to mean selling abroad at much lower prices than are charged to American buyers. That rails are thus dumped was admitted before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives at the revision of the tariff in the winter of 1908-9, and again by a representative of the Steel Corporation who was a witness before the Stanley Committee. Dumping was justified and defended on both these occasions. Ninety per cent. of the export business in iron and steel is done by the Steel Corporation; and, when Mr Elbert H. Gary, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the Corporation, was examined by the Stanley Committee, he frankly admitted that rails were sold at lower prices abroad than the prices charged in the United States.

'There is' (Mr Gary said) 'a practice all over the world of dumping (as it is called) surplus products. If we could sell our rails abroad at \$26 a ton, or at about cost, all the time, so that we could keep our mills running full all the time, we

* Stanley Committee, Bulletin III, 98.

† *Ib.* VI, 340.

would accomplish several things. In the first place, we would reduce the average or general cost of production; in the second place, we would keep our organisations intact, our men in continuous employment; and in the third place, we would bring to this country from foreign countries large sums of money. Some years, and in fact many years, we do sell for export at prices somewhat less than the domestic prices. But the total result is that we can afford to sell for domestic consumption at a lower price. All countries do exactly the same thing. The net result is not prejudicial to the domestic purchaser, but is a benefit to him.*

IV. There were two revisions of the United States tariff in the decade that preceded the organisation of the Steel Corporation. The first, in 1894, was made by the Democrats; the second, in 1897, was made by 'the friends of the tariff,' the Republicans. Partly owing to the Homestead strike (1892) and the general attention riveted upon Homestead all through that summer, and partly to resentment against the high duties of the McKinley tariff of 1890, the Republicans were defeated at the Presidential and Congressional elections in November 1892. The Democrats were elected on a platform of tariff for revenue only; and, as President Cleveland had long advocated this policy and was the most popularly trusted President since Lincoln, it was generally hoped that this policy would be embodied in the revision of 1894. But the 'Big Business Interests,' which have no politics but the politics of business, and to whom there is nothing on earth larger than a dollar—except it be ten dollars—have for nearly half a century subscribed to the campaign funds of both the Republican and the Democratic parties;† and, since about 1880, there have always been 'big business interests' Democrats, as well as 'big business interests' Republicans. In 1894 the 'big business interests' Democrats managed to get control of the Senate, with the result that Mr Cleveland and the Democratic majority in the House of Representatives failed to carry their tariff policy. Mr Cleveland was so annoyed

* Stanley Committee, Bulletin III, 93, 94. Mr. Stanley, chairman, having remarked that the price charged to Mexicans and Australians was \$4 lower than the price charged in the U.S., Mr Gary made an evasive reply (*ib.* 100).

† Cf. Bridge, *op. cit.* p. 114.

and indignant that he refused to sign the Tariff Act, which, however, went into force, under a provision of the Constitution, without his approval. Consequently, under the revision of 1894, the iron and steel manufacturers of Pittsburgh and the other centres of the industry in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois and Maryland lost little or none of their effective protection. The duties on pig-iron were reduced from \$6 to \$4 a ton; those on bar-iron and structural steel, which in the McKinley tariff had ranged from \$16 to \$20 and from \$10 to \$18, were reduced to \$12. On wire rods the duty was continued at \$16 a ton; but on rails there was a reduction from \$12 to \$7.

The failure of the Democrats at this revision to act in accordance with the platform on which they had been elected in 1892, coupled with the attitude of the party on the silver question, brought about their defeat in the elections of 1896; and the Republicans were so much in a hurry to secure another revision of the tariff—this time by its friends—that, in April 1897, President McKinley convened Congress in extra session solely to revise the Act of 1894. Duties in most of the schedules were now raised to a point much higher even than the general range of duties in the McKinley Act of 1890. But by this time many of the revolutionising changes in the economy of iron and steel production, which have been described, were obviously affecting the industry. At Homestead and other of the great works,

‘wonders [are] performed as amazing as those of the “Arabian Nights.” Machines endowed with the strength of a hundred giants move obedient to a touch, opening furnace doors and lifting out of the glowing mass enormous slabs of white-hot steel, much as a child would pick up a match-box from the table.’ (Bridge, *op. cit.* p. 164.)

Pig-iron was being manufactured at some furnaces at a cost of \$6-7 a ton—raw material, labour, and establishment charges all included; similarly steel rails were being turned out at as low as \$12.50, and sold at \$16; and, as Mr Carnegie assured the world in 1908, ‘sold at a profit. Thus, while it was still pleaded before tariff committees at Washington in 1897, as it was pleaded at every tariff revision from 1861 to 1909, that the iron and steel industry in the United States, manned in 1897 almost as

much as in 1911 by Slavs and Magyars working twelve hours a day and seven days a week* at wages ranging from 15 to 16½ cents an hour,† must be protected from the 'pauper labour' of England, Germany and Belgium, there was no successful movement for the re-enactment of the high duties of the McKinley Act, some of which, as we have seen, were reduced at the revision of 1894.

The textile manufacturers, and manufacturers in many other lines of industry, were at this revision of 1897 granted even higher duties than in the tariff of 1890; but there were no new concessions to iron and steel manufacturers engaged at the primary and early secondary stages. On the other hand, notwithstanding the enormous economies in cost which were being effected at this time in mining, transport and manufacture, the duties of 1894 were not appreciably reduced in the interest of consumers. Pig-iron, of which the labour-cost in 1909 was 82 cents a ton, as compared with \$1.25 in 1902,‡ was by the Tariff Act of 1897 afforded a protection of \$4 a ton. The 'Big Business Interests' of the United States are always amazingly vigilant in the interest of labour when a tariff is being revised; so persistently vigilant that a visitor at Washington, attending for the first time the public hearings of the Ways and Means Committee, would be apt to go away with the impression that sympathetic care for labour was the one great and sustaining joy of life with the 'Big Business Interests,' whose representatives are invariably at hand when a new tariff is before Congress. To the same end—ostensibly to safeguard American labour—duties on bar-iron were enacted in 1897 at the rate of \$12 a ton. On wire rods the duties ranged from \$8 to \$12; on structural steel they were fixed at \$10—\$2 less than the rate in the Wilson Act, and \$8 less than in the McKinley Act. For steel rails the Dingley duty was \$7; and for fishplates

* Of the total of employees appearing on the pay-roll of January 1910, 2322 worked in occupations requiring regularly twelve hours a day for seven days in the week, and 2233 in occupations requiring twelve hours a day for six days a week. Report on strike at Bethlehem Steel Works; Senate Document No. 521, Sixty-first Congress, 2nd Session, p. 10.

† Cf. Fitch, pp. 39, 62, and 154; Bethlehem Report, 10; also report on labour conditions in the iron and steel industry laid before the Senate, August 1, 1911.

‡ Stanley Committee, Bulletin V, 291.

and splice-bars, the 'etcetera' of the steel rail business, the rate was \$8 a ton.

This was the tariff in force when the Steel Corporation was organised in 1901. This was the protection that was treated as an asset and, as such, capitalised by the promoters of the Steel Corporation, as it had been capitalised by the promoters of earlier 'mergers' of iron and steel manufacturing companies. The tariff of 1897 was that under which the Steel Corporation and its socially federated independent companies* operated from 1901 to 1909. In the latter year there was another revision of the tariff. On this occasion, in order to accommodate the Republican party and its leaders at Washington, the Steel Corporation and the independent companies, acting as a unit, and having no apprehensions of British, German or Belgian competition—except as regards structural steel called for at the Pacific coast cities of San Francisco, Portland, Tacoma and Seattle—graciously sacrificed a little of their non-effective protection.† As a return for this sacrifice there was inserted an adroitly-worded paragraph that contained what in tariff slang is known as a 'joker,'‡ which, while apparently fixing the duty on structural steel at from \$6 to \$8 a ton, made all such material, when punched and ready for the erectors, subject to a duty of 45 per cent. *ad valorem*.§ For all practical purposes this duty is as prohibitive as though a clause had been inserted excluding structural steel from the United States; for, if structural steel is landed at an American port in the condition which would admit of it paying only the \$6 or \$8 duty, it must go to a mill, with furnaces and other equipment, for punching, before it is available for the building for which it is designed.

By the Act of 1909 the duty on pig-iron was reduced

* Cf. evidence regarding Gary dinners, 1907-1911 (Stanley Committee, Bulletin V, 263-272).

† Cf. letter of Mr James M. Swank, of Philadelphia—January 12, 1911—to Mr Gary of Steel Corporation, Stanley Committee, Bulletin XX, 1428.

‡ 'It is in the tariff schedules that half of the monopolies of the country have found covert and protection and opportunity. If you go through the schedules you will find some nigger in every woodpile, some little word put into almost every clause of the Act, which is lining somebody's pocket with money.'—Dr Woodrow Wilson, Governor of New Jersey, in 'The Outlook,' August 11, 1911, p. 944.

§ Tariff Act of 1909, Schedule C, Clauses 121, 199.

to \$2.50 a ton, and that on rails to \$3.50. But, so long as the existing harmony between the Steel Corporation and the independents, and between these colossal American interests and the manufacturers of iron and steel in Great Britain and on the Continent, are maintained—and there are to-day no signs of a rupture*—tariff details have little practical interest for people in the United States, who are forced to buy what they require from the Steel Corporation and its federated iron and steel-making companies.†

V. The mergers and consolidations of the four or five years that preceded the organisation of the Steel Corporation are part of the history of the Corporation.‡ It grew obviously and directly out of them. It was formed in almost every detail on the pattern of the Federal Steel Company, which is technically, like the Steel Corporation of to-day, a holding company. The Federal Company was organised and in business for two years and a half before the Steel Corporation was chartered in February 1901. It was a 'holding company,' which controlled eighteen previously independent mining, transport and manufacturing companies. Included in this number were five manufacturing companies, owning eleven plants situated so far apart as Johnstown (Pennsylvania) and Chicago; six railway companies owning as many railways; one mining company, with mines and undeveloped ore lands in the Lake Superior country; three coal and coking companies; a lake steamship and also a lake dock company; and a water-works company.§

The history of the Steel Corporation really begins

* Cf. Stanley Committee, Bulletin III, 81, 82, 94, 263-272: 'Out of a world's production of 64,000,000 tons of steel yearly,' said Mr Drummond, '60,000,000 tons were represented at the Conference. The object of the meeting was the formation of an international association of steel men, for the purpose of exchanging information on all matters relating to our business, and making easier an interchange of ideas and communications.'—Interview with Mr Drummond of the Canada Iron Corporation, regarding the International Conference of Iron and Steel Manufacturers at Brussels, July 5 and 6 ('Witness,' Montreal, August 3, 1911).

† Cf. Stanley Committee, Bulletin XX, 1429-30.

‡ See Article on 'Pools, Trusts,' etc., in the 'Q.R.' for January 1904, and 'President Roosevelt and the Trusts,' July 1907.

§ Cf. Stanley Committee, Bulletins II, 67; IV, 202; and Report of Commissioner of Corporations on Steel Industry, Part I, 14, 15.

with the creation of these holding companies, which are a device of American lawyers and American company-promoters and financiers. A large number of these holding companies had come into existence between 1897 and 1900. But these holding companies, in their turn, were only a new and enormously wider development of a movement in American industry and in home marketing of American manufactures which can be traced at least as far back as 1880. For the last thirty years there has never been a time when carefully organised pools, or (in the absence of pools) 'gentlemen's agreements,' or the later device of 'holding companies,' were not in existence for the purpose of dividing territory between manufacturers, for eliminating competition, and for maintaining manufacturers' profits at the highest possible level. The experience of both the United States and the Dominion of Canada since 1880 seems irresistibly to suggest that these three devices—pools, 'gentlemen's agreements,' and holding companies—are inevitable in countries where there is high protection, and where manufacturers are consequently associated in political action to secure the permanence of protective tariffs and to pocket all the gains accruing from them.

Canadian experience has run on lines almost exactly parallel with that of the United States. First, as in the United States, came pools for price regulation—'combines' as they are called at Ottawa; then 'gentlemen's agreements,' when pools broke down or became illegal under new enactments aimed at monopolies; and finally the 'mergers,' which serve much the same purpose in Canada as holding companies have served in the United States since about 1897. The merger was not developed in Canada until 1907, much later than the development of the holding company in the United States; and it was 1909 before the merger attracted much attention, and 1910 before the Canadian parliament enacted a law aimed at this new device to evade the older enactments against monopoly. In both countries there was a well-marked difference between the older and the newer devices; for their methods and aims were appreciably different, and the only common features were the elimination of competition and the maintenance of profits by fixing prices as high as the tariff would permit.

The great difference between the older methods—pools and agreements—and the new method embodied in the holding companies is that under the first all the gain accrued to the men actually owning and managing the undertakings; there was no capitalisation of protection, and comparatively few issues of watered stock. There was obviously little or no temptation to over-capitalisation so long as a few men owned the undertakings and the profits accrued to them alone. It was the newer method—the holding company—that gave the promoter his opportunity. This method admitted of the capitalisation of protection, of the issue of much-watered stock, and of making a world-wide market for the shares. By 1900 the holding company had come into general use in the iron and steel industry. The ground was nearly ready for the promoters of the Steel Corporation; and, when that company was organised in the early months of 1901, it took over the Carnegie Company, the Federal Steel Company, the National Steel Company, the American Steel and Wire Company, the National Tube Company, the Shelby Steel Tube Company, the American Tinsplate Company, the American Sheet Steel Company, the American Steel Hoop Company, the American Bridge Company, the Lake Superior Consolidated Iron Mines, and the Bessemer Steamship Company, owning a fleet of twenty-five steamers and thirty-one barges—twelve companies in all. But the companies thus taken over were themselves aggregations, embodying over two hundred companies which were originally independent concerns. These, like the Carnegie companies, had been merged or turned over to holding companies before 1900, and were now fused into the Steel Corporation, which subsequently acquired the Union Steel Company (1902), the Clairton Steel Company (1904), and the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railway Company, during the financial panic of 1907.*

Conditions have been described as nearly ready for the promoters of the Steel Corporation. They were not quite ready, and could not be quite ready, until the promoters were sure that they could bring the Carnegie Company into the undertaking. Its financial, industrial

* Cf. Report of Commissioner of Corporations, Part I, pp. 14, 15.

and strategic power—due to its control of ore, coal, and transport—was enormous, so enormous that without it the Steel Corporation could not have achieved all that must be put to its credit, good and bad, between 1901 and 1911. An intimation that Mr Carnegie was willing to consider an offer for his controlling interest in the Carnegie Company was the most valuable piece of information conveyed to the promoters. It gave life and definiteness to the scheme, and made it practicable in all its world-wide significance and its comprehensiveness, as regards control of raw material transport and manufacturing facilities.

Eight years before the Steel Corporation was organised it was stated before the Congressional Committee which investigated the strike at Homestead, that the Carnegie Company was capitalised at \$25,000,000, and that on this capitalisation it earned a net profit of 17·2 in 1891 and of 16 per cent. in the year of the Homestead strike. At the end of December 1899, according to evidence given in an equity suit in which Mr Frick was the plaintiff, the assets of the Carnegie Steel Company were valued at \$75,610,100. This was the book-value of the properties, 'the actual cost of the properties represented in the balance sheets of the association.'* To Mr Carnegie, for his controlling interest, the promoters assigned \$320,000,000 (64,000,000%).† The acquisition of all the interests in the Carnegie Company, including those of Mr Carnegie, was effected by the issue to Mr Carnegie and his associates of \$303,450,000 in bonds, \$98,277,120 in preferred stock, and \$90,279,040 of common stock of the Steel Corporation.‡

At its organisation in February 1901, the Steel Corporation had a total capitalisation of over \$1,402,000,000—\$510,000,000 of preferred stock, \$508,000,000 of common stock, \$303,000,000 of bonds, and about \$81,000,000 of miscellaneous obligations.

'Speaking broadly' (writes Mr H. Knox Smith, the Commissioner of Corporations, in his report of July 1, 1911), 'such capitalisation amounted to the claim, the representation, that there was a value in this concern which would justify a fair

* Stanley Committee, Bulletin V, 295; cf. Bridge, p. 365.

† Cf. Stanley Committee, Bulletin I, 32.

‡ Cf. Stanley Committee, Bulletin II, 65, 66.

business return on this capitalisation. The Bureau finds, on the contrary, that in 1901 the fair market value of its tangible property was about \$700,000,000, slightly less than one-half its capitalisation. The other half, the excess of about \$700,000,000, is thus separated, and stands out embodying the essential public questions raised by the Bureau's analysis of its investment. In so far as that excess represented value in 1901, it was value due either to increased earning-power from the elimination of competition, concentrated ownership of the basic natural resources—iron ore and coal—or, in some degree, integration efficiency.*

Mr Knox Smith, elsewhere in the report, goes fully into the methods he had followed in making his estimate of the value of the Corporation's properties at the time of their acquisition, and discusses the over-capitalisation to which he had referred, as evidenced by the enormous commission assigned to the underwriting syndicate which was responsible for the promotion of the Corporation. His careful calculations give, as a result :

'That of the Steel Corporation's stock in 1901 at least \$150,000,000 (this including over \$40,000,000 of the preferred) was issued, either directly or indirectly, for such promotion or underwriting services, this being over and above the enormous amounts of common stock issued as a bonus for property and for cash.' (Report, Part I, p. 14.)

The material outcome to-day of the organisation of the Steel Corporation in 1901, and of its operations for the last ten years, is the most comprehensive and magnificently equipped manufacturing undertaking that the world has ever seen. The Corporation controls the supplies of nearly all the raw materials of all kinds needed at its hundreds of works in eighteen or nineteen States; and in the rare instances where it does not possess this control—as in the case of nickel—it is so powerful that, when it makes a contract, it can and does insist that the price it is to pay shall be 20 per cent. less than that charged for similar supplies to other concerns in the iron and steel industry.† Rail and lake transport of raw materials are similarly controlled; and the organisation is so complete and self-contained that apparently no man collects a cent of commission at any stage of its trans-

* Report of Steel Industry, Part I, Letter of Submittal, p. xx.

† Stanley Committee, Bulletin XXIII, 1633.

actions, from the time ore and coal are mined until the finished products pass into the possession of the purchaser.

One man, whether he be in London, Paris, or New York, determines whether the wages of 236,000 employees shall be increased or reduced.* So far, in the history of the Corporation, the general tendency of wages has been upwards. The rates for unskilled labour in 1892 were 14 cents an hour; the rate in recent years has been 16½ cents. Men paid on tonnage have also had their rates increased since 1901. The Corporation has striven continuously to reduce casualties and fatalities to its workpeople by the use of safety devices in machinery. It has also made it possible for its employees, under favourable conditions, to invest their savings in its stocks. It maintains a welfare department; and among other disbursements are subscriptions to Young Men's Christian Associations and kindred bodies, regarded as coming within the scheme of its welfare work.

Since April 1907 it has been the aim of the Corporation to reduce Sunday work to a minimum. It then recommended 'that all work (except such repairs as cannot be done while operating) be suspended on Sunday at all steel-works, rolling-mills, shops, quarries and docks'; and that there should be no construction work or loading or unloading of materials. 'It is understood,' read this resolution of the Finance Committee, 'that it is not at present practicable to apply the recommendation to all departments, notably the blast furnaces; but it is desirable that the spirit of the recommendation be observed to the fullest extent within reason.'† The Corporation took a lead in this matter. But success in this policy has been slow; for it was reported to the Senate at Washington by the Department of Commerce and Labour, on August 1, 1911, that of over 90,000 men employed in 344 iron and steel works in the United States, 30,000 work seven days in the week; and that one-fourth of the whole, or some 23,000 men, work twelve hours a day or eighty-four hours a week. 'Much of the Sunday work,' the report added, 'is no more necessary than in other industries.' There was a further statement in this report, of which the Department has so far published only a summary, that

* *Ib.* Bulletin XX, 1424.

† Fitch, *op. cit.* p. 325.

half of the 90,000 employees are in 1911 receiving less than 18 cents (about 9*d.*) an hour, while one-fourth receive between 18 and 25 cents an hour.

Through the alliance of the Steel Corporation with the independent iron and steel companies, and also through their connexions with the railway companies,* the Corporation and the Independents have been able, without any friction with the railways, to keep the price of Bessemer rails at \$28 a ton for the last ten years. Other consumers of iron and steel products have had no alternative but to pay the prices fixed by the Steel Corporation and the Independents; and the net result of these conditions is that, according to the Bureau of Corporations, the average rate of profit from 1901 to 1910 on the Corporation's actual investment amounts to 12 per cent.† But, great as has been the industrial and financial success of the Corporation, Mr E. H. Gary, one of the promoters and Chairman of its Finance Committee, is not yet satisfied. He is afraid that the existing social alliance with the Independents may clash with the Sherman Act, which is aimed at monopolies; and, when he appeared before the Stanley Committee, he pleaded for Government control of prices. Asked whether he meant Government control or Government regulation, he replied :

'I use the word "control" preferably, and I would distinguish that from Government management. I do not believe Government management of the ordinary business of a corporation is practical. . . . What we all need is something that is practical, something that is legal, something that affords protection to all interests; and that I am in favor of, because I think it is right, and we need it—because it is good policy.'

It *may* come to Government control; for President Taft and the Republican party have since 1908 been committed to the equally daring doctrine that it is the duty of the United States Government to levy such tariff duties as will guarantee 'a reasonable profit to American manufacturers.'‡

EDWARD PORRITT.

* Cf. Stanley Committee, Bulletin VI, 316, 334, 353.

† Report on Steel Industry, Part I, p. 1.

‡ Since this article was in type, the Government petition for the dissolution of the U.S. Steel Corporation, a book of 93 pages, based on the Report mentioned at the head of the article, has been published.

Art. 9.—TURKEY UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

1. *Turkey in Transition*. By G. F. Abbott. London: Arnold, 1909.
2. *Turkey and its People*. By Sir Edwin Pears. London: Methuen, 1911.
3. *L'Europe et l'Empire Ottoman*. *L'Europe et la Jeune Turquie*. By René Pinon. Paris: Perrin, 1908, 1911.

In July 1908 the world was thrilled by the news that Turkish despotism had come to an end and that its place was to be taken by a form of government as liberal, beneficent and progressive as that of any Western state. The masterly ease with which so momentous a revolution was effected, the moderation displayed by the victorious revolutionaries, and the emphasis with which they proclaimed their intention to base the new order of things on the principles of constitutional freedom and equality, earned for their cause an amount of admiration and sympathy to which the Turk had long been a stranger.

As everyone knows, the decay of the Ottoman Empire was due partly to an administrative corruption, indolence and incompetence which enabled a few to prosper at the expense of the many, and partly to a political inequilibrium which, by placing the infidel permanently at the true believer's mercy, deepened among the subject races the discontent springing from material grievances, kept alive the desire for deliverance from subjection, and furnished sympathetic or self-interested neighbours with a perennial pretext for intervention on behalf of the down-trodden *rayah*. It followed that no attempt to arrest that decay could have any chance of success unless it was inspired by a twofold ideal—administrative reorganisation, on the one hand, and racial reconciliation, by a more equitable redistribution of power, on the other. The authors of the revolution appeared to understand the problem as clearly as could be desired. So much, at all events, it was permissible to infer from the motto which they had inscribed upon their banner: 'Union' and 'Progress.' These two words implied a conscious departure from the maxims of Old Turkish statecraft—*laissez faire* and *divide et impera*.

Three and a half years have passed, and the moment

has come to appraise the practical results of their efforts. As regards the first portion of this twofold task, it can hardly be said that the new régime, so far, presents a conspicuous improvement on the old. The overthrow of the old system could not but have in many respects a beneficial effect. The abolition of local passports, for example, now permits people to travel more freely about the country. The legions of spies who once dogged the footsteps of every resident and visitor have diminished in number and in activity. Private property is somewhat less frequently exposed to official rapacity. Trade by land and sea has received a certain impetus. The working of old mines and the exploration of new mineral deposits, in Asia Minor especially, is pushed on more vigorously than before. The greater freedom enjoyed by Ottoman subjects is also illustrated by the multitude of newspapers in various languages that have sprung up since the proclamation of the Constitution. To the credit of the new order of things may also be added the removal of many of the obstacles which formerly rendered the investment of foreign capital in the Ottoman dominions an undertaking of small profit and great peril. Abdul Hamid looked upon every concession-hunter as an enemy in disguise, and therefore allowed the vast natural wealth of his dominions to remain dormant. The present rulers of Turkey have perceived that a country in its industrial infancy cannot dispense with the aid of foreign capital, and have thrown the Empire open to the financiers of the world. Lastly, the revenue from the Customs has, under British direction, increased. All this, however, falls far short of the programme with which the Young Turks advertised their accession to power.

The new rulers promised the complete purification of the administration in all its branches; the establishment of more intimate relations between Law and Justice in the tribunals; the replacement of the petty tyrants who under the old régime called themselves guardians of public order by decent policemen and gendarmes, whose function should be to protect peaceful citizens instead of fleecing them, to pursue malefactors instead of shielding them, and to check crime instead of sharing in its fruits; the encouragement of agriculture by a fairer incidence of taxes and by the construction of roads and bridges;

the facilitation of commerce by a unification and simplification of the chaotic currency; the promotion of education by the establishment of new schools; the introduction of modern conditions into the municipalities; finally, along with this social regeneration, the invigoration of the military and naval forces of the Empire.

This grandiose programme still remains a programme and no more. The law-courts continue to be what they have always been—nurseries of procrastination and corruption, in which the infidel, when in litigation with a true believer, stands small chance of justice, and in which, when the litigants belong to the same creed, their prospects of success are strictly commensurate with the length of their respective purses. The police throughout the Empire continue to commit the same excesses and the same cruelties as in the past. Brigandage flourishes and agriculture languishes as much as ever. The promises of municipal reform have materialised themselves only in the vandalic destruction of historic monuments, carried on ostensibly in the interests of urban improvement, but really for the financial benefit of Government officials and enterprising contractors, and in the demolition of private dwellings without compensation to the owners. Other schemes of public utility, regarding roads and bridges for the open country, electric lighting and locomotion for the towns, the reform of the currency, and so forth, are still 'under discussion.' The same remark applies to the ambitious plans for railway development in Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula, the improvement of seaports, the erection of lighthouses, the extension of maritime means of communication.

The only items of the programme that are carried out with earnestness are those conducing to military and naval efficiency. While all the other wheels of the administrative machine remain sunk in the ancient ruts of sloth and venality for want of competent and well-paid servants, the army and the navy absorb all the energy and more than all the money at the disposal of the Government. Sums that are urgently needed for the pacific and economic revival of the country are squandered on warlike equipments. Fresh loans on usurious terms are contracted for this unproductive purpose. Budgets prepared with infinite ingenuity by the Minister of

Finance are torn up at the bidding of the Minister of War. Deficit, year after year, is added to deficit, more and more public revenues are mortgaged, and debt is piled on debt, all with a view to strengthening the martial, while starving the civil, sections of the public service. The only roads built in the provinces are military roads. The negotiations for railway developments are governed by strategic rather than by economic considerations. The very reorganisation of the National Maritime Transport Service, for which the Porte recently concluded a loan, is inspired primarily by a military purpose, the service in question being mainly employed in the transport of troops.

The significance of this disproportionate preponderance of the spending departments in the administration lies on the surface. The revolution was the work of soldiers, not of statesmen. Its immediate object was not to reform Turkey, but to put a stop to European interference with its domestic concerns—an interference which, by the beginning of 1908, threatened to detach Macedonia from the Empire, as it had in the past detached many other provinces. The patriotic young officers who coerced Abdul Hamid into the granting of a Constitution were actuated by martial rather than by political ideals. They dreamed of a Turkey of the future more formidable than the Turkey of the recent past, of a time to come when the Parliament would recover all the territories which the Palace had lost. Consolidation, in their eyes, was but a means to expansion; and that expansion would, naturally, be effected by the army. In other words, as seen by the light of subsequent developments, the revolution was not what its authors depicted it in order to gain support at home and sympathy abroad—a movement liberal in its motives and pacific in its aims; but a rigidly nationalist and crudely aggressive movement, an effort to revive the ancient Ottoman spirit of conquest under a modern mask.

The truth of this interpretation is proved not only by the excessive devotion of Young Turkey to matters military, but also by its overbearing attitude towards all its neighbours in Europe, Asia and Africa. During the three and a half years that have elapsed there has scarcely passed a month without a frontier incident.

The Bulgarian and Greek frontiers have been repeatedly the scenes of collisions, provoked by the encroachments of Turkish troops on Bulgarian or Greek territory and in some cases resulting in pitched battles. Turkish troops have also invaded Persian territory and territory under British protection on the Persian Gulf, while in Africa the frontier that separates what was Turkish Tripoli from French Tunis has witnessed similar acts of aggression on the part of the Ottoman authorities. Inside the Empire, too, there has been under the new régime a consistent disregard of the Capitulations which guarantee to foreign residents exemption from Turkish jurisdiction. The British Vice-Consulate at Monastir was violated in 1910, and simultaneously the British Consular dragoman at Aleppo was imprisoned. The other foreign colonies have had similar experiences of ancient Turkish arrogance revived, the worst example being the incarceration and torture by the Constantinople police of an employé of the Hellenic Consulate. These episodes taken by themselves may be trivial, but viewed collectively they become portentously illuminating.

Equally instructive evidence of the real spirit that animates Young Turkey is offered by the manner in which the Young Turks have approached the second part of their task. At first there was among the revolutionary leaders a party which advocated the conciliation of the various races of the Empire by a frank recognition of their diversity. The programme of that party was to try to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of all nationalities so far as was compatible with the solidarity of the Empire, remembering that every nationality had its peculiar traditions and idiosyncrasies, and that it should be governed with a strict regard for them. What was true of the national was also true of the geographical elements of the Empire. The conditions of many provinces were quite peculiar and required special treatment based upon intimate knowledge. Decentralisation, adaptation of administrative methods to local needs, and a scrupulous respect for racial susceptibilities were the watchwords of that party. Unfortunately these moderate counsels were soon overriden by the views of the more ardent spirits. Blinded by national chauvinism, political inexperience, and in-

ordinate ambition, these patriots imagined that it was possible to bring about the forcible assimilation or, failing that, the suppression of nationalities which had resisted absorption through centuries. In their opinion, Turkey should do what Hungary is doing, only on a larger scale; and so there would in time arise an 'Ottoman' nation as homogeneous as the German or the French. This doctrine was the result of half-digested lessons learnt by its upholders in Western Europe during their years of exile; and they were strengthened in their belief in it by the allies whom they found among the Jews and crypto-Jews of Salonica—the centre of the revolutionary movement. These extreme doctrinaires, acting through a secret political organisation that derives its inspiration and its methods from similar associations—semi-masonic, semi-revolutionary—in Italy, and now known throughout the world as the 'Committee of Union and Progress,' control from their headquarters at Salonica the destinies of the Ottoman Empire.

Though the secret mechanism of the association still remains a mystery, the spirit by which it is animated became manifest immediately after the proclamation of the Constitution. The Young Turk turns out to be merely the Old Turk under a new name. During the elections to Parliament the Committee, with the local authorities, civil and military, and with the armed Turkish population at its back, had recourse to all possible forms of coercion in order to secure the return of its own nominees. Whole non-Turkish communities were arbitrarily denied a vote. Many constituencies were so split up and grouped as to give to the Turks an artificial majority. The results of the polling in many districts were annulled simply because they were unfavourable to the Committee's candidates. Ballot-boxes were tampered with or destroyed. Voters were ill-treated and imprisoned or forced to refrain from voting by threats of massacre. Violence and illegality were the order of the day in every electoral area from southern Arabia to northern Albania. Thanks to these tactics, the representation of the non-Turkish elements was reduced to that minimum which was considered sufficient to prevent the Ottoman Parliament from being too obviously a Turkish assembly pure and simple,

and to enable the Young Turks to keep up in the eyes of the outside world the fiction of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. But though, by means of a skilful manipulation of the Press, they succeeded for a time in deceiving the outside world, they could not deceive their fellow-countrymen. The electoral manoeuvres of the Committee shattered at once the illusions raised by its professions, alienated from the revolutionaries the confidence of the non-Turkish races to which, in a very large measure, they owed their triumph, and demonstrated that the Ottoman Constitution of 1908, like its prototype of 1877, was a mere make-believe.

The disillusion produced by the elections was deepened by the tendency of the legislation submitted to the Parliament by a Committee-controlled Government. That legislation aimed at the Turcification of the Empire. It was proposed to make the Turkish language the vehicle of instruction in the higher schools of all the nationalities, to abolish the ecclesiastical courts which had ever since the Conquest regulated the social relations of the Christian communities, to enforce a uniform system of administration in every part of the Empire, and so to bring about the amalgamation of the various races. As was to be anticipated, all these races, irrespective of creed, ranged themselves in opposition to the Committee, and made common cause with the reactionary elements among the Turks themselves—the elements which had found their conservative instincts, religious sentiments and material interests threatened by the revolution. To these springs of hostility was added a widely-felt resentment against an occult association—which had no recognised status in the country—continuing to wield its mysterious power after the meeting of Parliament, to dictate the policy of the accredited Government at Constantinople, and to interfere with the conduct of the local authorities in the provinces, thus enjoying all the prerogatives of despotism without its responsibilities. The Committee tried to silence opposition by terrorising the Chamber, the Press, and the public through the army, the upshot being the so-called 'counter-revolution' of April 1909.

The Committee managed to weather that storm. But, if it emerged victorious from the struggle, it emerged unwiser than ever. Its victory, consolidated by the

deposition of Abdul Hamid, the execution or expulsion of many of its rivals, and the proclamation of martial law throughout the Empire, left the control of affairs entirely in the hands of the Salonica clique. A series of measures, rushed through Parliament at the point of the bayonet, replaced the Press at the mercy of the executive as absolutely as it was in the days of the autocracy, restored to the police the right to forbid public meetings, prohibited the formation of clubs on a racial basis, even for merely educational or philanthropic purposes, curtailed the internal autonomy of the Christian communities, and thrust upon the primitive districts of Arabia and Albania a rigid system of taxation, conscription and general administration utterly alien to the traditions of the inhabitants. In brief, the programme of unification and centralisation was executed without scruple, insight or fear of consequences.

The result was such as might have been foreseen. The discontent of the outraged populations, no longer allowed vent in open complaint, sought refuge in secret conspiracy. All the old national associations, which on the downfall of the autocracy had transformed themselves into constitutional clubs, reverted once more to their original character; and thus there has been created a situation the perilous nature of which is eloquently illustrated by the Arabian and Albanian rebellions. Now Arabs and Albanians, though so far apart geographically, bear a close similarity in point of development. Among both we find a large number of primitive tribes which have never been really subdued by the Turks, and a small but powerful minority of educated individuals imbued with national and intellectual aspirations. The policy of the Young Turks has exasperated both these elements by endeavouring to impose upon them a bureaucracy more oppressive than the old slack autocracy.

The Arabian and Albanian tribesmen were compelled to serve in the Imperial army, no longer as volunteers but as compulsory conscripts, to pay taxes which had usually remained in abeyance, and to give up arms which the conditions under which they live render indispensable for self-defence. On the other hand, they received none of the benefits which would have justified these sacrifices. The army into which they were pressed was employed

for the consolidation of a rule which, to say the least, they did not love. The money they were made to contribute was devoted to any purpose but the improvement of their own lot. And, once disarmed, they were exposed to the tender mercies of the first aggressor. Besides these practical grievances, which operated among the less advanced sections of the Arabian and Albanian races, there were other grievances which moved the wrath of their more highly civilised brethren. The national aspirations of these have for a long time found expression in an intellectual movement, the object of which is to foster Arabian and Albanian racial consciousness through a national education. The Young Turks set to work to extinguish these aspirations by forbidding education in the national tongue. Consequently, ever since the first year of the new régime, both Arabia and Albania have been the scenes of open revolt. The Arab insurrection is too distant from Europe to cause any immediate anxiety, but the kindred agitation among the Albanians is so intimately connected with European politics that a few pages may be profitably devoted to its progress.

In 1909 the northern tribes, disenchanted by the unfair treatment which, in common with the other non-Turkish elements, they had received at the elections, and further irritated by the causes already enumerated, rose up in arms; and, in spite of the large Turkish forces sent against them, they were barely suppressed. The rebellion broke out again in 1910 among the Mohammedan tribes of the north-east; and it was quelled by the savage destruction of whole villages, accompanied by other severities, which compelled many families to flee into Montenegro, and, what the proud clansmen could forgive less easily, by the public flogging of their chiefs. At the same time the national schools established by the intellectuals of the south were suppressed; and the Turkish Government endeavoured to stifle the growing sentiment of national unity among the three religious sects—Mohammedans, Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians—into which the Albanian race is divided. The new rulers insisted that the first should use the Arabic, the second the Latin, and the third the Greek characters; while the leaders of the intellectual revival demanded that all Albanian children, irrespective of their religious

persuasion, should be taught the Latin letters. The refusal of the Turkish Government to grant this demand, and its persistence in enforcing the programme of disarmament and administrative centralisation, goaded the Albanians to a fresh revolt in 1911; and this time the insurrection assumed larger dimensions.

In the north its centre was among the Catholic Malissori tribes of the north-west; but the Mirdites also, another powerful Catholic clan, participated to some extent, while some of the Mohammedan clans showed signs of renewed unrest. In the south a similar outbreak occurred; and there its leaders were Mohammedan chieftains and abbots of the Bektashi monasteries. In this part of the country the insurrection took the form of a guerilla warfare, the rebels, divided into small bands, avoiding open encounters with the Imperial troops, but seeking to harass them by sudden attacks and evading retaliation by rapid retreats. In the north, however, the clans opposed a stubborn resistance, which cost the Turkish army great losses. The Turks retaliated by a barbarous destruction of the property and cattle of the rebels, and by other atrocities which once more forced the aged, the women and the children to seek refuge across the frontier in Montenegro.

The object of the Turkish operations, to judge by the methods adopted, was not only to crush the rebels, but, by a systematic devastation of their country, to render their future recovery impossible, and to populate their deserted villages by Mohammedan emigrants from Bosnia. This method of pacification, however, failed; and the Young Turks presently found themselves in a most dangerous position. On the one hand, their troops, decimated by the brave mountaineers and by cholera, began to exhibit a mutinous spirit. On the other hand, the barbarities which the Turkish army committed, and the sufferings of the refugees in Montenegro, began to stir abroad a feeling of sympathy for the Albanian cause which threatened to lead to foreign intervention. The Committee was, therefore, obliged to abandon its original intention. Instead of threatening the King of Montenegro with war for harbouring its rebellious subjects, the Porte now besought his mediation; and through it the rebels were prevailed upon to accept the

terms offered to them. These terms amounted to a complete surrender on the part of the Committee. The rebels were promised all that they had demanded from the first: not to be liable to military service outside Albania except in the capital, to be exempt from taxation for two years and to have certain taxes lowered, to be allowed to carry arms, to be governed by native officials according to their tribal laws and customs, to have local revenues devoted to local needs—roads, bridges, and schools in which Albanian should be the vehicle of instruction. Further, the Porte undertook to rebuild the destroyed houses and churches, and to furnish every adult refugee with a sum of money in compensation for losses suffered through the action of its troops.

By these tardy and humiliating concessions the Committee managed, for a time, to stave off the danger of foreign intervention attended by domestic complications; but for a time only. The Young Turks had no intention to fulfil the promises wrung from them. To take back with one hand what he has been forced to give with the other has always been, and still is, a cardinal feature of the Turk's statecraft. Besides, a recognition of Albanian particularism would create a precedent of which all the other nationalities would take advantage in order to press their own claims; and that would mean a radical inversion of the programme upon which the Committee had staked everything. The Albanians, on their part, embittered by repeated deception and emboldened by partial success, were not likely to tolerate any infringement of the privileges they had regained at so great a cost of blood. Consequently the peace patched up proved a hollow truce; and there is every reason to believe that the trouble will break out again in the near future. And, when it recurs, the movement will probably be still wider in its extent, better organised in its conduct, and more exacting in its aims. Already there are among the Albanian leaders men who declare themselves far from satisfied with mere administrative decentralisation, and who dream of political independence. A secret revolutionary organisation, the 'Dritta,' is working vigorously towards that end.

To the Arabian and Albanian questions the new rulers of Turkey have added a Kurdish question. The Kurds,

like the Albanians, were conciliated by Abdul Hamid by a variety of diplomatic expedients. The tribal chiefs were systematically bribed with gifts, decorations, and lucrative posts in the civil and military services and in the palace; and the Sultan had no more devoted defenders of his person than the Albanian and Kurdish bodyguards. The Young Turks have succeeded in estranging the Kurds, as they have estranged the Albanians. The Druses of the Lebanon also, who throughout Abdul Hamid's reign had remained quiescent, rose in 1910 in a rebellion which ended in a pacification hardly more durable than that of Albania. But these forces of discontent do not by any means exhaust the dangers which the Young Turks have created for themselves.

The Armenians, like the other nationalities, had greeted the revolution with an extravagant enthusiasm which soon yielded to painful experience. The elections revealed the manner in which the Committee meant to redeem its pledges of equal treatment. But that was not all. After the massacres of 1896 the lands of many Armenians who had fled the country, and of many others who had stayed behind, were appropriated by Kurdish and other Mohammedan robbers. On the proclamation of the Constitution the refugees returned home, and, together with the other dispossessed Armenians, demanded the restitution of their property as well as the cessation of the tribute which their Kurdish neighbours have been in the habit of levying, from time immemorial, on the defenceless Armenian peasantry. The only fruit of this cry for elementary justice has been the appointment of a commission of enquiry. And, as though this perpetuation of ancient wrongs were not enough, in April 1909 the wretched Armenians suffered, under the Constitution, a massacre almost as terrible as any they had suffered under the autocracy—18,000 persons slaughtered, over 2,000 women and children doomed to shame, and a vast crowd of men, women and children left without the means of subsistence.

In Macedonia the unscrupulous chauvinism of the Committee has led to an equally dangerous recrudescence of old discontents. The Young Turks, aware of the hostility they have aroused among the Christian inhabitants, have endeavoured to disarm them while

arming the Turkish inhabitants, to plant in Christian districts a Mohammedan population consisting of emigrants from Bosnia, and to organise among the true believers bands of terrorists. The disarmament of the Bulgars of Macedonia was carried out with a brutality worthy of the worst traditions of Abdul Hamid, many peasants being flogged to death and others maimed for life. The suppression of the Greeks both in Macedonia and other parts of the Empire was attempted chiefly through a commercial boycott which has brought ruin on many private individuals without either benefiting the public treasury or quelling the nationalist spirit of the Greeks. Simultaneously with these acts of repression there has been proceeding, during the last two years, a systematic assassination of prominent members of the Bulgarian and Greek communities culminating in Macedonia in the recent murder of two Greek bishops.

The upshot has been a revival of the revolutionary agitation which had nearly caused the loss of the province on the eve of the Constitution. The Bulgarian organisation has resumed its old tactics; and we hear every now and then of collisions between insurgent bands and Imperial troops, of railway outrages, and other exploits of a kind familiar under the old régime. What is more significant still is that the Bulgarian and Greek elements, once mortally hostile, have been compelled by the pressure of a common danger to sink their mutual animosities in a common hostility towards the Turk. Their respective organisations have agreed on joint action when the moment for action comes. Meanwhile the Greek Patriarch and the Bulgarian Exarch, after forty years' bitter estrangement, have been reconciled and, together with the Armenian Patriarch, are striving to defend the Christian population from Young Turk aggression. For, apart from the special grievances of each nationality already enumerated, they all have in common one which is due to the universal conscription established by the Constitution. In this ostensible privilege—once confined to Mohammedans—the Christians see, and not unjustly, but another instrument of racial fusion under the mask of racial equality. The Christian recruits labour under all sorts of disabilities; and in many cases even ordinary religious toleration is denied them.

Such have hitherto been the results of the constitutional experiment. A stratocracy has arisen on the ruins of the autocracy. The palace camarilla has found in the Salonica Committee a successor as unscrupulous and intolerant as itself. Whoever dares to speak or write against the Committee is either summarily punished by court-martial or, if he is the possessor of dangerous knowledge, he is assassinated. Under this tyranny administrative confusion has grown worse confounded. The public finances are in a more hopeless muddle than ever. Peculation still reigns supreme; and not only has the old gulf that separated the conqueror from the conquered become wider, but new combinations undreamt of by the old régime have been created. The Committee, while displaying all the intolerance and incompetence of the despotism to whose omnipotence it has succeeded, lacks the Machiavellian astuteness by which that despotism managed to keep its opponents divided and its supporters united. Abdul Hamid consistently sided with the Mohammedans in their oppression of the Christians, and assiduously fomented among the latter the feuds which rendered their opposition impotent. The actual rulers of Turkey have achieved this unique result—to divide the Mohammedans, and to unite the Christians. Arab, Albanian and Kurd have no longer any reason to side with the Turks, who are now themselves divided into Young and Old; while, on the other hand, Greeks, Serbs, Bulgars and Armenians have come to see that they can only survive by union of forces. This novel development goes further. The Moslem Albanians have abandoned their hereditary hatred of the Slav, and in their recent insurrection they have been aided by the Bulgarian revolutionary organisation. The warm welcome which the Orthodox Serbs of Montenegro have extended to Catholic and Moslem Albanian refugees is another proof of the tendency to wipe out the memory of ancient enmities, and to cement new friendships.

At the same time, the Committee has ceased to present a united front to the numerous enemies it has raised on all sides. Its violent methods and personal rivalries have estranged many of its original members. When Kiamil Pasha was driven from power at the beginning of 1909, General Chérif Pasha, one of the most enlightened Young

Turks, felt obliged to resign his membership, to leave Constantinople, and to retire to Paris, where he formed an independent party of malcontents, the liberal programme of which is advocated vigorously through its organ 'Mécheroutiette.' In Turkey itself there have sprung into existence several other Young Turk groups, some in open hostility to the Committee, some still nominally within the pale, but in opposition to Salonican influences. The most important of these is the group of 'Insurgents' consisting of a number of officers and others who demand the abolition of secret political societies and who, perceiving that the chauvinistic policy of Salonica menaces the integrity of the Empire, advocate a return to the more pacific policy of the pre-revolution days.

The violent scenes which the Turkish Chamber has recently witnessed, the savage altercations between the journalistic supporters of the rival groups, the periodical murders of military officers and newspaper editors, throw an ominous light on the bitterness which divides the Young Turks, while the instability of the edifice reared by the revolution is sufficiently illustrated by the rapid rise and fall of Cabinets. Since July 1908, Turkey has had seven Ministries and an endless succession of ministerial crises. And, while the Young Turks are thus daily losing the strength that comes from cohesion and the prestige that springs from public approval, the Old Turks are reinforced. The Constitution, with its tacit denial of the theocratic conception of the State, has never been popular among the masses of the Turkish nation. The excesses which the Salonica clique has perpetrated and the fear lest, if allowed to go on in the path it has chosen to enter, it may bring about the collapse of the Empire which the revolution was intended to avert, have compelled even many Young Turks to reconsider their views. And now both moderate Young Turks and Old Turks find themselves approaching an agreement in a common conviction that even Abdul Hamid may be outdone, and a common wish to see the monarchy restored to, at least, a portion of its old power. They do not desire a return to Hamidian absolutism, but they would like to see the Sultan invested with greater authority, and the Chamber turned into a merely consultative body.

There is yet another source of Turkish discontent—the

presence of Masonic and Jewish influences in the Salonica Committee. Atheists and Jews, native and foreign, it is said, are exploiting the true believers and ruining the Empire for their own benefit. In proof of this assertion is cited the fact that, while all other communities, Moslem and Christian alike, are complaining, the Jewish community alone seems satisfied with the actual state of affairs. Nor is this anti-Jewish feeling confined to the Turks. The Greeks regard their Jewish competitors at Salonica as the real instigators of the commercial boycott from which the latter alone have profited. The Armenians charge the Jews with the design of robbing the victims of the last massacre of their lands with a view to settling Jewish colonies upon them. The efforts of the Zionists to take advantage of the Constitution in order to further the realisation of their dream of a new Palestinian State have aroused keen resentment among the Arabs. Among all these elements a suspicion prevails that the revolution is nothing else than the product of a Judæo-Turkish intrigue on a gigantic scale—Jewish brains directing Turkish brutality for the promotion of ends very remotely, if at all, connected with the prosperity of the Ottoman Empire.

Thus the mishaps which have befallen the Empire under the new régime, and the misdeeds of which its rulers have been guilty, have combined to discredit the innovators, to increase the numbers of malcontents both in Europe and Asia, and to foster the belief that it is, on the whole, better to be ruled by one strong man than by a multitude of irresponsible charlatans who do not know their own minds from day to day, who consider arrogance an adequate substitute for competence, and who have not only failed to heal the old wounds, but have opened new ones in the Ottoman body politic.

For all that, it would be unwise to overrate the force of popular feeling in a country where the popular mind is at once so undisciplined and so unenterprising as in Turkey. A similar feeling existed for many years against Abdul Hamid, but it did not express itself in action until it permeated the men who controlled the army. The Committee may therefore consider itself safe so long as it enjoys the confidence of the army. But the officers who brought about the revolution are no longer

unanimous in their support of the Committee. In the struggle between Mahmud Shevket Pasha, Minister of War, and Djavid Bey, Minister of Finance and one of the principal leaders of the Salonica clique, the majority of the officers sided with the former and caused the fall of the latter. Again, the most recent split in the ranks of the Committee was brought about by the defection of Colonel Sadik and other soldiers. It is important to remember that these men, in overthrowing Abdul Hamid, sought thereby to reanimate their country's military power; and it is a matter of comparative indifference to them whether such a reanimation is to be effected through the Padishah or through a Parliament. In the heir presumptive to the throne the officers have a prince after their own heart—a soldier credited with great ambition and autocratic tendencies, a kind of Turkish Kaiser. It is not impossible that the majority of them may soon grasp the fact that to the military efficiency of the Empire parliamentary institutions are not indispensable. When that takes place, the days of the Salonica doctrinaires will be numbered.

The chaos prevailing in the political world of Turkey appeared to be approaching its climax when the unexpected invasion of Tripoli came to divert the attention of Turkish politicians from their internecine feuds to external dangers. The first effect of this event was to supply the Committee's enemies with a fresh weapon of attack; but the successful resistance which the Turkish forces in Tripoli have offered to the Italian arms has helped to restore in a measure the Committee's reputation for the moment. It would, nevertheless, be idle to consider the improvement in the internal situation as other than transient. The war, if prolonged and extended to the Turkish coasts, may lead to events which will not only shake the Young Turk edifice to its foundations, but may even threaten the existence of the Ottoman Empire.

Among the great forces of disintegration from within, the Arabian and Albanian nationalist movements stand foremost; and it is instructive to note that, while among the Arabs aggression from an infidel quarter upon an Arab-speaking province has kindled a religious fervour which, for the time being, has cast political animosities

into the background, among the Albanians that aggression has had a totally different effect. The Malissori, exasperated by the Porte's failure to fulfil its promises of compensation for the property damaged during the last insurrection, and goaded by their sufferings from exposure to cold and rain which that failure involved, are ready to rise again. The other tribes are scarcely better disposed towards the Turks. Shortly before the Italian war, the Moslems of Rozaj had revolted, killed the Kaimakam, and captured the Turkish garrison. A few days earlier the Moslems of Djakova had also revolted and taken prisoner the Vali. When, on the outbreak of hostilities with Italy, the governor of Skutari called upon the Moslems of his province for 5000 volunteers, he found only fifteen individuals willing to respond to his appeal. Such is the attitude even of the Moslem Albanians, who have so often in the past shed their blood readily for the defence of the Empire. Among their Christian fellow-countrymen Italy's action has roused wild hopes of deliverance; and while the Tosks of the south look to that Power for help, the Catholic clans of the north entertain expectations of assistance from Austria, both sections agreeing that it matters little who succeeds the Turkish ruler, provided that ruler disappears. Already sporadic risings, inspired by the Porte's preoccupation in Tripoli, have taken place; and in the Lyuma district there occurred in November a serious conflict between Albanian insurgents and Turkish troops. Should the Albanian ferment culminate in another insurrection on a considerable scale, it is almost certain to be followed by external complications of the gravest character. As M. Pinon observes (*'L'Europe et la Jeune Turquie,'* p. 348):

'From the international point of view, the intervention of Russia in favour of Montenegro, and that of Austria in favour of Albania, are important events. The action of Russia shows the resolution of the St Petersburg cabinet not to abandon its Slav clients. The intervention of Count Aehrenthal, followed by such prompt results, was a fresh success for Austrian policy. Austrian influence in Albania is thereby enhanced materially and morally. At the same time Italy suffered a set-back. Recent events, therefore, . . . disclose the great importance of the Albanian question, both for the Ottoman Empire and for Europe.'

The aggressive spirit manifested by the Young Turks immediately after the establishment of the Constitution has alarmed all the States which at one time formed provinces of the Ottoman Empire, and which have never lost sight of the ambition to liberate the portions of their respective races still under Ottoman domination. Their alarm has expressed itself in vigorous preparations for self-defence and self-expansion. Both Greece and Bulgaria have hastened to revise their Constitutions. The Bulgarian army, always good, has been brought to a greater degree of efficiency. The Greek army and navy, for many years in a deplorable condition, are now reorganised by French and British experts. Servia also is strengthening her military resources. Montenegro, thanks to the shrewd part which King Nicholas has played in the Albanian insurrection, has increased its prestige. None of these States has any cause to feel well-inclined towards Turkey. The Turco-Bulgarian negotiations for a commercial treaty, intended to establish the financial relations between the two countries on a firm basis, have so far been barren of result, the Porte refusing to continue towards Bulgarian imports the treatment which they enjoyed before the complete severance of that State from the Ottoman Empire in 1908. Greece is indignant against the Young Turks owing chiefly to the Cretan question, the solution of which, in accordance with Hellenic aspirations, has been so far frustrated by Turkish opposition. Montenegro has not yet obtained the rectification of its frontier promised by Turkey as a reward for King Nicholas's mediation with the Albanians. Further, all these States seem to have renounced for the present the mutual jealousies which once separated them, and are now in a condition of eager expectancy, each declaring that it will not be the first to set the spark to the inflammable material, but all admitting that, once the spark has been set, they will try to derive the maximum of profit from the conflagration at Turkey's expense.

The Ottoman Empire might view with comparative equanimity the preparations made by its smaller neighbours, were it not for the fact that the Great Powers beyond are intimately connected with those developments. Italy has already thrown off the mask as regards her

anxiety to expand in Africa at Turkey's cost. She is known to cherish a similar desire of expansion in southern Albania and to have aided the rebels last summer with arms. Austria and, possibly, Russia nourish ambitions of a similar nature. The Turkish revolution had brought about a temporary suspension in their activity. But the sinister course of events inside Turkey has rendered the continuance of a neutral attitude impossible. Last summer Austria not only aided the north-Albanian insurgents secretly with arms, but openly expressed herself in sympathy with them. Russia encouraged the King of Montenegro in his protection of the Albanian refugees and furnished him with funds for the purpose. Both Vienna and St Petersburg addressed to the Porte minatory Notes, which did more than Albanian valour to persuade the Young Turks that a timely concession was the only alternative to Austro-Russian intervention. If these Powers abstained from such intervention a few months ago, the causes of their abstention must be sought outside the Balkan Peninsula. The Moroccan imbroglio obliged Austria to keep her hands free in order to support her German ally, should necessity arise. The Persian imbroglio engrossed Russia's attention. But the rôle these Powers played, openly and secretly, in the Albanian trouble indicates in an unambiguous manner the part they are prepared to take in other Balkan troubles that may arise in the immediate future through the Turco-Italian war.

Other indications pointing in the same direction are not wanting. Austria has lately established with Bulgaria a close diplomatic and commercial understanding, which, with Roumania already bound to the Triple Alliance by a military convention, greatly strengthens the Austrian position in the Balkan peninsula. Since the declaration of Turco-Italian hostilities, the Austro-Hungarian Government has found it necessary to reinforce its garrisons along the Novibazar frontier on a scale very little removed from mobilisation. Russia, on her part, has not remained idle. Besides her traditional friendship with Montenegro, she has recently confirmed her influence over Serbia, not only through the marriage of a Servian princess to a Russian Grand Duke, but also, there are reasons to believe, by a political and military alliance.

In Asia Minor also the conversion of many Armenians from the Gregorian to the Orthodox faith, with the object of securing Russian protection, is significant of the fact that the Young Turks have to reckon with the Great Power of the north as the Old Turks did in the past; and they show their appreciation of this truth by the steps they are taking to fortify the Bosphorus against a possible attack by the Black Sea fleet.

Of the more remote Powers, Germany is popularly supposed to be Turkey's defender. This defence, however, is not of great value. The recent Russo-German agreement, concluded behind Turkey's back, provides for a simultaneous penetration of Germany into the Turkish provinces of northern Asia Minor and of Russia into the northern parts of Persia. This agreement, coming at a moment when Turkish chauvinists were calling upon the Kaiser to protect Persia, and indirectly their own eastern flank, against a Russian advance, shows how far Germany is prepared to sacrifice her own interests on the altar of Turkish friendship. Not less illuminating has been the Kaiser's attitude towards the Turco-Italian question. To the Porte's appeals for intervention on Turkey's behalf, he virtually replied that he could only exert his influence with his Italian ally after that ally had obtained all he wanted from Turkey—a reply the inadequacy of which was scarcely palliated by the platonic expressions of sympathy in which the German Press was allowed to indulge. The truth of the matter is that Germany regards the Ottoman Empire as a field of exploitation, to be cultivated, at the minimum of outlay and the maximum of profit, so long as it exists. But should there occur circumstances threatening its existence, not even the least intelligent of observers can for a moment doubt that Germany will hasten to make the best possible bargain for herself.

For the rest, it is well to bear in mind that Austria is, like Italy, Germany's ally; and, should Vienna be induced to follow the example of Rome, Berlin would maintain a similar attitude of connivance. Meanwhile Germany is dexterously turning the Germanophile sentiments of the Young Turks to account in various ways, especially by obtaining an extension of her railway operations in Asia Minor through the Anatolian and Baghdad companies.

These semi-political enterprises are encouraged by the Turks in the belief that they strengthen the military position of the Ottoman Empire; but from a German point of view their chief importance lies in the fact that they further German penetration into the Middle East, and prepare the way for the appearance of a German navy in the Mediterranean. That this conclusion is not mistaken can be seen from the latest concession to the Germans of a new line to the port of Alexandretta—a concession which practically amounts to the acquisition by Germany of a long-coveted naval base in the Mediterranean. The sole important result the Young Turks have achieved by their cultivation of German friendship is the alienation of the Western Powers.

The attitude of those Powers towards the Italian attack was very enlightening. The Porte, disappointed with the reply it got from Berlin, turned to London for assistance. The British Government expressed its regret at being unable to do more than Germany in the matter. England, it is true, made up partly for her official coldness by unofficial expressions of pro-Turkish sympathy through the Press. France could do even less than that, seeing that the occupation of Tripoli by Italy had been agreed upon between Rome and Paris eleven years ago as an event that was to follow upon the establishment of a French protectorate over Morocco. Turkish Ministers, finding themselves left without assistance from any quarter, realised the urgency of joining one or other of the groups into which European Powers are divided. But neither the Triple Alliance nor the Triple Entente appeared eager to meet their advances. Experience has taught the Western Powers the need for prudence in dealing with a State the fate of which, thanks to the blunders committed by its new rulers, is so problematical; while two of the partners to the Triple Alliance entertain, as has been shown, ambitions with which Turkey's admission into the partnership is utterly incompatible. The Young Turks are thus left to face the consequences of their actions alone; and their future remains as uncertain as their past has been unwise.

Art. 10.—THE GROWTH OF EXPENDITURE ON ARMAMENTS.

1. *Naval Expenditure (Principal Naval Powers)*. (White paper No. 265 of the Session 1911.) London : Wyman.
2. *Progress of the Nation*. By G. R. Porter, F.R.S. London : Murray, 1851.
3. *Economic Annals of the Nineteenth Century, 1801-20*. By William Smart, LL.D. London : Macmillan, 1910.
4. *The National Expenditure of the United Kingdom*. London : 'The Economist,' 1911.
5. *Official Year Book of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1901-10*. Published under the authority of the Minister for Home Affairs. Melbourne : McCarron, 1911.
6. *The Canada Year Book, 1910*. Ottawa : Parmelee, 1911.

THE question whether, having regard to her national wealth, resources and responsibilities, the expenditure of Great Britain upon armaments is excessive, and the further question whether there is reasonable ground for the belief that she will be able to maintain the present level of expenditure, and if necessary to increase it, without imposing an insupportable burden of taxation upon the people of the United Kingdom, are matters of great importance. The British public, both at home and in the Overseas Dominions, is beginning to appreciate the true political significance of the general increase in naval power which has recently taken place. At the same time it is beginning to feel the weight of the economic burdens which this increase entails.

The beginning of this universal movement in favour of the acquisition of naval armaments, which has had such a disturbing effect on international politics during the past ten years, may be ascribed in part to the lessons that were taught by the Spanish-American war of 1898, the South African war of 1899-1902, and the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5. These conflicts established in the most convincing manner the vital importance of preparedness for war, and not less the supreme importance of sea-power. There are, no doubt, a great many intensely patriotic people in this country who sincerely believe that armaments are the cause of war ;

but contemporary history proves conclusively that unpreparedness for war does not ensure peace. Neither Spain nor America was ready for war in 1898; but that did not prevent the outbreak of hostilities. Great Britain was utterly unprepared for war in South Africa in 1899, but that circumstance did not make for peace; on the contrary, there is every reason to believe that it precipitated, as it certainly prolonged, the conflict. By the beginning of 1904, the Japanese preparations for war were completed; but Russia was ill-prepared as well as badly informed. Japan, however, might have hesitated to enter upon the war with Russia, had the latter country taken care to perfect her armaments on an adequate scale. The unreadiness of Austria in 1866 did not save her from Prussia: while it is practically certain that the unpreparedness of France in 1870 and the completeness of the Prussian armaments induced Bismarck, Moltke and Von Roon to precipitate hostilities. The present conflict between Italy and Turkey affords another illustration of the same point. Whatever may be the outcome of the operations on land, this war has proved once again the imperative necessity of naval armaments, wherever either party in a conflict has to cross the sea. The rulers and statesmen of the great World-powers are now convinced that, in order to avoid war, it is necessary to be fully prepared for war both on land and sea. There has been imminent danger of the outbreak of a great European war on at least four occasions within the past fifteen years; but the magnitude of modern armaments, the vast cost of war under existing economic conditions, and the disastrous consequence of failure, have exercised a moderating influence upon the war policies of the principal Powers to an extent which it would be difficult to exaggerate.

In addition to the foregoing influences, which tended to create a universal movement in the direction of the acquisition of naval armaments, another and even more potent force began to make itself felt during the South African war, namely the determination of Germany to acquire a great navy. The preamble to the Germany Navy Act of 1900, under which the modern German Navy has been created, affords a valuable indication of the motives and intentions of its founders; and, though it

has frequently been quoted, the following reproduction of it will not be out of place.

'In existing circumstances, in order to protect Germany's sea trade and colonies, there is one means only, namely, that Germany should possess a fleet of such strength that even for the mightiest naval power a war with her would involve such risks as to jeopardise its own supremacy. For this purpose it is not absolutely necessary that the German fleet should be as strong as that of the greatest sea-power, because, generally, a great sea-power would not be in a position to concentrate all its forces against us. But even if it should succeed in confronting us in superior force, the enemy would be so considerably weakened in overcoming the resistance of a strong German fleet that, notwithstanding a victory gained, the enemy's supremacy would not at first be secured any longer by a sufficient fleet.'

It would be difficult to advance a more powerful argument in favour of the two-Power standard than is afforded by the preamble to the German Navy Act. The objects defined in the preamble have been attained by Germany with astonishing ease. Her constructive resources and her national wealth have been underrated both by herself and by this country. Within the short period of eleven years Germany has stepped from a negligible position into that of the second naval Power in the world, without straining her resources to an appreciable extent and without weakening her army. It is true that her navy has been built largely by means of borrowed money, but the Imperial debt of Germany is relatively one of the smallest in Europe. The Imperial finances have been reorganised within the past four years; and Germany can continue on her present financial lines for many years to come without courting financial disaster.

It is instructive to note the growth of expenditure upon armaments by the United Kingdom during the past 110 years. At the end of the eighteenth century the war with France, which had been dragging on for seven years, had added 270,000,000*l.* to the National Debt; and it had also involved an increase of 17,000,000*l.* in the amount of the annual taxes. The population of Great Britain then numbered 10,834,623, and that of Ireland was estimated at about 4,000,000 (this estimate was,

however, much too low). England was then well on the way to become an industrial instead of an agricultural country. The imports for 1800 were valued at 28,257,000*l.* and the exports at 34,881,000*l.*, but the trade of Ireland was not included in these totals. In shipping our predominance was fully established, although the United States was beginning to become a formidable rival. The registered vessels belonging to the British Dominions numbered 19,772, representing 2,037,000 tons. Some basis for a rough estimate of the wealth of the country at that time was furnished by Pitt in the speech in which he introduced the Income Tax in December 1798. He stated that the various incomes on which a general income tax should be paid might be moderately estimated at 102,000,000*l.* This calculation was arrived at after deductions of percentages from the various gross incomes to represent exemptions under 60*l.* and abatements up to 200*l.*; it did not include the earnings of labourers or the incomes of small capitalists, which Lord Auckland estimated as amounting to another 100,000,000*l.*

On this basis, then, the entire national income of Great Britain amounted to about 200,000,000*l.* per annum. Pitt estimated that the income tax of 10 per cent. on all incomes would bring into the Exchequer 10,000,000*l.*, but this was not realised. In February 1800 Pitt announced that the supply he deemed necessary for both civil and military purposes was 39,500,000*l.*, the principal items of military expenditure being as follows:—navy 12,619,000*l.*, army 11,370,000*l.*, ordnance 1,695,000*l.*, subsidies to German princes 2,500,000*l.*, and expenses of Russian troops 500,000*l.* It is necessary to bear the foregoing details in mind in order to appreciate the magnitude of the financial sacrifices which our forefathers made in their magnificent struggle with France. The population of France at that time numbered 24,000,000; and, when Napoleon was at the height of his power, France had under her immediate control between fifty and sixty millions of people, or about half the population of Europe.

The total sum voted for expenditure on armaments in 1800 was 25,684,000*l.*, equivalent to, say, 2*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* per head of the estimated population. After the Peace of Amiens there was a substantial decline in the army and

navy estimates; but with the rupture of peace in 1803 a vast programme of expenditure was again entered upon. In 1804 the army estimates rose to 19,143,000*l.* and the navy estimates to 11,715,000*l.*, while the charge for ordnance was increased to 2,052,000*l.* The cost of armaments gradually increased until 1812 (when the American war broke out), when the aggregate was 42,737,000*l.* The expenditure during the three succeeding years advanced rapidly until 1815, when the total charge was 77,925,000*l.*, an amount equivalent to 5*l.* 19*s.* per head of the estimated population. During the sixteen years 1800 to 1815 the aggregate expenditure on the army was 299,498,000*l.*, on the navy 258,895,000*l.*, and on ordnance and miscellaneous items 95,801,000*l.*, a total of 654,194,000*l.*, or say 40,900,000*l.* per annum. One source of expenditure, which bore heavily upon our national resources during the war, consisted of the loans and subsidies granted to foreign countries. The aggregate amount paid under these heads during the twenty-two years 1793-1814 was 46,289,459*l.*, about two-thirds of which total were expended in the latter half of the period. Some idea of the burden of expenditure may be gathered from the fact that it represented, on the average, a sum equivalent to about half the total annual value of our foreign trade throughout those years.

It would be difficult to praise too highly the masterly manner in which the statesmen who directed the foreign policy of Great Britain in those eventful years administered the national finances. It would be equally difficult to pay too great a tribute of admiration to the financial sacrifices which the people made in order to carry out that heroic policy. The principle adopted throughout was to provide as large a sum as possible by means of annual taxation; and they did not shrink even from an income tax of 10 per cent., or 2*s.* in the pound. There was, of course, a limit to the taxable capacity of the nation, which could not be exceeded by the most heroic methods of finance; and it was impossible to provide the whole of this vast war expenditure out of revenue. After the battle of Waterloo the National Debt amounted to 902,039,000*l.*; but it must be borne in mind that, owing to the large discount at which the Government issues were made, the actual sum received was nearly

200,000,000*l.* less than the total of the debt. The annual charge for the debt in 1815 was 32,645,000*l.* In 1815 the population of the United Kingdom numbered 19,218,000, so that the amount of debt per head was 47*l.*, while the annual charge in respect of the service of the debt was over 1*l.* 14*s.* per head. The magnitude of this charge will be grasped when it is borne in mind that the national wealth at that time was not more than 2,800,000,000*l.* In other words the National Debt amounted to a sum which was equivalent to nearly one-third of the national wealth; while the annual charge for the service of the debt amounted to about 15 per cent. of the national income. Immediately after the conclusion of the war strenuous and effective efforts were made to reduce the National Debt; and by the beginning of 1819 the amount had fallen to 791,867,000*l.*

From 1815 until the outbreak of the Crimean war in 1854, the navy estimates fluctuated between six and eleven millions. For 1855-6 they amounted to 19,654,000*l.*; but, as peace was concluded early in 1855, the amount expended was only 13,459,000*l.* After the Russian war the expenditure on the navy declined again until in 1870 it reached the low level of 8,969,000*l.* For the succeeding two decades it varied between ten and twelve millions; and by 1890 the total had advanced to 14,560,000*l.* After the alliance of 1895, France and Russia entered upon a vigorous policy of naval construction; and, in order to maintain our relative position, it was necessary in 1897 to increase our naval expenditure to 22,271,000*l.*, of which total 5,292,000*l.* represented shipbuilding contracts. Two years later the South African war began to exercise an influence upon the navy estimates; and in 1901 the total expenditure reached 30,000,000*l.* Although the understanding subsequently effected with France and the destruction of the Russian Navy relieved us from the pressure of naval construction from those quarters, a new and more formidable rival to our sea-power arose. Germany entered the field of naval expansion with her famous Navy Act of 1900, which is referred to in an earlier part of this paper. During the decade 1901-10 our navy estimates fluctuated between 31 and 37 millions; and the forty-millions limit was passed for the first time in our history by the estimates for 1910-11. A further substantial

advance was shown by the estimates for 1911-12, which provided for an expenditure of 44,882,047*l.*

The army estimates since 1815 have, of course, fluctuated in accordance with foreign and colonial policies and the wars in which we have been engaged. From 1815 until the outbreak of the Crimean war the army estimates were generally under ten millions. In 1855 they rose to 20,811,000*l.* On the restoration of peace, Mr Gladstone, Mr Disraeli and Lord John Russell organised a movement in favour of the reduction of expenditure on armaments, which was practically accepted by the House of Commons; and the army and navy estimates together for the year 1857 only reached 20,699,000*l.* The Indian Mutiny and the China war rendered a continuance of the policy of retrenchment impracticable; and for the succeeding five years expenditure attained a high level. From 1890 to 1898 the army expenditure varied between 13 and 20 millions, the general tendency being in the direction of the higher total, which was attained in 1898. The South African war naturally exercised an abnormal influence upon army expenditure during the four succeeding years. Peace was concluded on May 31, 1902; but the army estimates for 1903-4 amounted to 36,728,000*l.*, and provided for 236,000 men. The *personnel* was gradually reduced until 1910-11, when the estimates amounted to 27,760,000*l.*, and the numbers to 184,000 men. The estimates for 1911-12 amount to 27,690,000*l.* and provide for an establishment of 186,000 men.

It will be observed that the cost of both army and navy has increased during the past fourteen years at a very much more rapid rate than the numbers of the *personnel*. In 1896-7 the navy estimates provided for 91,500 men and a total expenditure of 22,271,000*l.*; the 1911-12 estimates make provision for 134,000 men and a total expenditure of 44,882,047*l.* During the fifteen years, therefore, the *personnel* has increased to the extent of 46·6 per cent., while the expenditure has grown to the extent of 101·5 per cent. A very substantial portion of the increased expenditure is, of course, due to the greater sums provided in the latter estimate for shipbuilding and naval works. In 1896-7 Lord Lansdowne's army estimates provided for 156,000 men at a total cost of 18,156,000*l.*; while Lord Haldane's estimates for 1911-12 provide for

186,000 men and a total expenditure of 27,690,000*l.* Here again we find a disproportion between the increase of numbers and the increase of expenditure. An expansion of 19·2 per cent. in the numbers has been accompanied by a growth of 52·5 per cent. in the cost. This can be accounted for in some measure by the increase of the pay vote, an increase of 1,800,000*l.* in the cost of the Territorial army, and one of 1,600,000*l.* in the Works vote, the last being due to the abolition of the loan system.

It is impossible to say what proportion of the total increase of outlay on maintaining the army and navy may be ascribed to the world-wide diminution in the purchasing power of gold and the increased cost of living that has taken place within the past fifteen years; but there is ground for the belief that the great Service Departments have been affected by this economic influence at least as largely as all other public spending bodies.

The civil expenditure has grown at quite as rapid a rate as the expenditure on armaments. The total civil expenditure of the United Kingdom for 1897-8 amounted to 47,158,000*l.*; the 1910-11 estimates for these services were 77,283,000*l.*, an increase of 30,125,000*l.*, or 64 per cent. The increase of expenditure on armaments during the same period was 27,866,000*l.*; so that it will be perceived that the actual amount of the civil expenditure has grown even more rapidly. More than one-half of the growth of civil expenditure is due to old age pensions (9,250,000*l.*), and to public education, which has increased by 7,100,000*l.* Attention may also be directed to the growth of Local Government expenditure in recent years. In 1895-6 local expenditure amounted to 92 millions sterling; in 1907-8 the total had increased to 165 millions, but of course these figures include receipts from loans. There are now about 25,000 local spending bodies in England and Wales; and the outstanding debt at the end of 1907 amounted to 494,500,000*l.* The aggregate debt of the Local Authorities of the United Kingdom now exceeds 550,000,000*l.*

But national expenditure must, like individual expenditure, be judged in relation to the wealth and income of the spender; and in the general consideration of this question there has been an almost universal dis-

position to ignore or overlook the vast growth of wealth that has attended and rendered possible the expansion of outlay upon national defence without placing an impossible burden upon the shoulders of the taxpayers. In the early years of the nineteenth century, when the national wealth was less than one-fifth of its present amount, the expenditure on the army and navy was running at the rate of 41,000,000*l.* per annum over a long period of years, as compared with the present expenditure of 72,000,000*l.* While our expenditure on armaments has increased during the past century by 75 per cent., or, in comparison with the peace expenditure of 1817 (15,000,000*l.*), by 380 per cent., our population has increased by 26,000,000, or 135 per cent.; our foreign trade has expanded from 63,000,000*l.* to 1,212,000,000*l.*, or 1800 per cent.; and the national income has grown from 200,000,000*l.* to 2,000,000,000*l.*, or 900 per cent.

In the broad consideration of this question it must be remembered that it is the duty of the British navy to protect not only the trade and shipping of the United Kingdom, but those of the remote parts of the Empire as well; and a further strong justification for the growth of expenditure on the British navy is to be found in the expansion of the finance, commerce and shipping of the Empire. In an interesting paper entitled 'Under the Crown,' which was read before the Royal Statistical Society on June 13, 1911, by Sir J. Athelstane Baines, the author pointed out that between 1841 and 1911 the population of the British Empire had increased from 203,221,000 to 418,735,000, or by 106 per cent. Of the total increase 68·2 per cent. was due to the growth of population upon existing territories; and the balance of the increase, amounting to 37·8 per cent., was due to the acquisition of new possessions. The area has not, indeed, expanded in proportion to the population; for to the 8,526,641 square miles of 1841 the addition has been but 2,804,602, or 32·9 per cent. The population of 418·7 millions represents about one-fourth of the population of the world. It comprises 45·2 millions in the Motherland and 13·5 millions in other temperate countries; nearly 8 millions, chiefly coloured, in South Africa; and 352 coloured millions in the tropics, of whom 37·2 millions are outside India, principally in Africa,

The overseas or external trade of the British Empire for 1909 amounted to 1,595,751,000*l.*, made up as follows :

Foreign trade	£ 1,200,524,000
Trade of the United Kingdom with other parts of the British Empire	337,276,000
Inter-Colonial trade	57,951,000
Total	£1,595,751,000

Of this huge total the inter-Imperial trade represented 395,227,000*l.*; and, even if this amount be deducted from the aggregate, the enormous sum of 1,200,524,000*l.* is left as representing the value of the overseas trade of the British Empire with foreign countries.

The military expenditure of the Empire outside the estimates of the United Kingdom has always been on a very large scale; and to the 21 millions spent in India we must add at least two millions for military expenditure in other parts of the Overseas Empire. This amount will be largely augmented when the Australasian and Canadian Defence schemes have been fully developed. Until quite recently the United Kingdom has had to bear practically alone the cost of protecting the vast sea-borne trade of the Empire; but one of the most significant and welcome features of contemporary history has been the awakening of the Dominions to a sense of their responsibilities in the matter of Imperial defence, and the willingness they have displayed to take up their share of the burden of naval and military armaments. An immense impulse was given to this movement by the historical debate which took place in the House of Commons on March 16, 1909, when, it may be recalled, the principal members of the Government made grave statements with regard to the future maintenance of British naval supremacy. This debate created a profound impression throughout the Empire; and six days later the Government of New Zealand cabled to the Home Government an offer to bear the cost of the immediate construction of a battleship of the latest type, and, if subsequent events showed it to be necessary, of a second vessel of the same type. This offer was gratefully accepted. On March 29, 1909, the Canadian House of Commons passed the following resolution :

'That this House fully recognises the duty of the people of Canada, as they increase in numbers and wealth, to assume in larger measure the responsibilities of national defence.

'The House is of opinion that, under the present constitutional relations between the mother-country and the self-governing dominions, the payment of regular and periodical contributions to the Imperial Treasury for naval and military purposes would not, so far as Canada is concerned, be the most satisfactory solution of the question of defence. The House will cordially approve of any necessary expenditure designed to promote the speedy organisation of a Canadian naval service in co-operation with, and in close relation to, the Imperial Navy, along the lines suggested by the Admiralty at the last Imperial Conference, and in full sympathy with the view that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the security of commerce, the safety of the Empire, and the peace of the world.

'The House expresses its firm conviction that, whenever the need arises, the Canadian people will be found ready and willing to make any sacrifice that is required, to give to the Imperial authorities the most loyal and hearty co-operation in every movement for the maintenance of the integrity and honour of the Empire.' (Canada Year-Book, 1909, p. xviii.)

On April 15, 1909, the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia made a series of proposals respecting naval defence in a telegraphic memorandum; and on June 4 a new Government of the Commonwealth telegraphed an offer to the Empire of a 'Dreadnought,' or such other addition to its naval strength as might be determined after consultation.

As the outcome of these offers a subsidiary conference on Imperial defence was held in London from July 28 to August 19, 1909, under the presidency of the Prime Minister. The deliberations were conducted in secret, but on August 26, 1909, Mr Asquith made the following statement in the House of Commons:

'That, without impairing the complete control of the Government of each Dominion over the military forces raised within it, the forces should be standardised, the formation of units, the arrangements for transport, the patterns of weapons, etc., being as far as possible assimilated to those which have recently been worked out for the British army; . . . so that, should the Dominions desire to assist in the defence of the

Empire in a real emergency, their forces could be rapidly combined into one homogeneous Imperial army.

'A remodelling of the squadrons maintained in Far Eastern waters was considered on the basis of establishing a Pacific fleet, to consist of three units, in the East Indies, Australia and China Seas, each comprising, with some variations, a large armoured cruiser of the new "Indomitable" type, three second-class cruisers of the "Bristol" type, six destroyers of the "River" class, and three submarines of the C class.

'The generous offer, first of New Zealand and then of the Commonwealth Government, to contribute to Imperial naval defence by the gift of a battleship each was accepted, with the substitution of cruisers of the new "Indomitable" type for battleships; these two ships to be maintained, one on the China and one on the Australian station. . . . As regards Australia, the suggested arrangement is that, with some temporary assistance from Imperial funds, the Commonwealth Government should provide and maintain the Australian unit of the Pacific fleet. The contribution of the New Zealand Government would be applied towards the maintenance of the China unit, of which some of the smaller vessels would have New Zealand waters as their headquarters. The New Zealand armoured cruiser would be stationed in China waters.

'As regards Canada, it was considered that her double seaboard rendered the provision of a fleet-unit of the same kind unsuitable for the present. It was proposed that, according to the amount of money that should be available, Canada should make a start with cruisers of the "Bristol" class and destroyers of an improved "River" class—a part to be stationed on the Atlantic seaboard and a part on the Pacific.

'Agreement was arrived at with regard to various details, including the loan by the Admiralty of cruisers for the training of officers and men, and the reception at Osborne and Dartmouth of Canadian cadets.' (Official Report.)

The Overseas Dominions have accepted the principle that the burden of Imperial defence must in future be borne, not by a part, but by the whole of the Empire; and they have expressed their concurrence with the proposition that each part of the Empire should make its preparations on such lines as will enable it, should it so desire, to take its share in the general defence of the whole. The Commonwealth of Australia and New

Zealand have both shown a keen appreciation of the economic and political significance that attaches to the naval mastery of the Pacific; and New Zealand has agreed that the armoured cruiser which she has provided shall be maintained on the China station. The Commonwealth, taking the view that a fuller Imperial partnership is indispensable to the future security of the Empire, has agreed that a definite place shall be allotted to her as to the other members of the Empire; and she is providing the Australian unit referred to in Mr Asquith's speech quoted above. The cost of construction is estimated at 3,750,000*l.*, and the estimated annual cost is about 750,000*l.* Of this sum the Imperial Government offered to contribute 250,000*l.*, but the Commonwealth Government decided to bear the whole cost.

Australia has not, however, been content merely with the fulfilment of the understanding arrived at at the Imperial Conference of 1909. At the invitation of the Commonwealth Government, Admiral Sir Richard Henderson visited Australia to advise upon the best position of a central naval base and the works necessary to make it effective, together with the positions for secondary bases and the location and character of training schools for preparing *personnel* for the Australian naval service. The Admiral was also requested to report generally on measures to be taken in the formation of a fleet. After an inspection of various harbours, the Admiral propounded a scheme which he embodied in a report to the Government in March 1911. It provides for fifty-two vessels and a *personnel* of 15,000 men. The expenditure on ships is estimated to amount to 23,290,000*l.*; and the sum to be spent on the construction of docks is placed at 40,000,000*l.* In twenty-two years the total expenditure will amount to 88,500,000*l.* The construction and equipment of six naval bases and eleven sub-bases are recommended. The fifty-two vessels of the completed fleet will be divided into eastern and western divisions, and will consist of 8 armoured cruisers, 10 protected cruisers, 18 destroyers, 12 submarines, 3 depôt ships and 1 fleet-repair ship. The building of the fleet will extend over twenty-two years; and of the 23,290,000*l.* initial cost of construction the Commonwealth is already committed to 3,500,000*l.* The annual cost of maintenance of ships

in commission will be 262,000*l.* in 1913-14, rising to 1,226,000*l.* in 1923-4.

With regard to military defence, in 1909 Field-Marshal Lord Kitchener visited Australia at the invitation of the Commonwealth Government, and, after inspecting the military forces and the forts and defence works, reported on the whole scheme of land defence. The provision of an adequate military force to ensure local safety and confidence at a time of attempted invasion is regarded as a paramount duty; and it is proposed that the home-defence forces of Australia shall be organised on lines similar to those adopted in Great Britain. The strength of the land-force necessary for this purpose is reckoned at 80,000 men; and the annual cost of the scheme, when in full operation, will amount to 1,884,000*l.* The recommendations of Lord Kitchener were largely embodied in the Defence Act of 1910, which came into operation on January 1 last. On account either of sparseness of population or difficulties regarding communications, certain areas are exempt from the operation of this Act; but in all other parts of the Commonwealth territory universal military training has been proclaimed. The total expenditure of the Commonwealth on defence for the year 1910-11 was estimated at 2,833,895*l.*, of which total the military expenditure accounted for 1,029,758*l.* The estimates for 1911-12 provide for a total outlay of 4,583,000*l.* on defence, including 1,515,000*l.* in respect of the construction of the fleet unit.

With regard to Canada, the Naval Service Act was passed on May 4, 1910. Its object is to give effect to the resolution which was unanimously passed by the Canadian House of Commons on March 29, 1909 (see above, p. 234). In principle the Act follows closely the Militia Act, with this difference, that the naval service is to be voluntary, whereas under the military law all males between eighteen and sixty are liable to military service. Very little progress has been made with the organisation of the new naval force. A Naval College has been established at Halifax, and two practically obsolete protected cruisers, the 'Niobe' and the 'Rainbow,' have been purchased from the British Government. The Act provides for the construction of dry docks; but, so far, nothing appears to have been accomplished in this

direction. In the latter part of 1910 the Canadian Government invited tenders for the construction of nine ships of the naval programme, that is four cruisers of the improved 'Bristol' class and five torpedo-boat destroyers of the improved 'River' class; and on May 1, 1911, tenders were received for the construction of these vessels in Canada. A change of Government has since taken place; and on November 21, 1911, the new Premier (Mr Borden) made an important statement in the Dominion House of Commons with regard to the policy of the Government in the matter of naval defence. He said the proposals of the late Government called for an expenditure of 10,000,000*l.*, spread over a period of ten years. A fleet had been planned which would be useless as a fighting force and would be quite obsolete by the time it was completed. Mr Borden expressed the opinion that it would not be wise to proceed with such a useless expenditure, and he intimated that the Government would stop it; they thought that the whole question should be reconsidered. In the meantime the Government would endeavour to ascertain what were the conditions confronting the Empire, and they would be quite prepared to do their duty as citizens of Canada and of the Empire. Mr Borden added that a matter of such importance as the navy should not be entered upon until the question had been submitted to the people and had received their approval.

There is no reason to believe that this change of policy foreshadows any weakening of public opinion in Canada in the matter of the responsibilities of the Dominion with regard to naval defence. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's scheme was obviously a compromise between the views of the Nationalists, who were opposed to participation in any scheme of naval defence, and the Imperialists, who desired to undertake a much more ambitious scheme. It has been recognised that the division of a few cruisers and torpedo craft between the Atlantic and Pacific sea-boards of Canada would neither add to the security of the Dominion nor prove of any real value in the general scheme of Imperial defence. Canada possesses neither the facilities for construction nor the *personnel* requisite for a purely national navy; and it may be hoped that the Dominion will now approach the consideration of

this question in the generous and comprehensive spirit in which it has been dealt with by Australia and New Zealand. In 1910 General Sir John French, Inspector General of the Imperial Forces, visited Canada and inspected the Canadian militia. In his report the General stated his opinion that, so long as the present condition of affairs on the North American continent remained as it was, the existing military system, if strictly administered on a sound basis of peace organisation, should suffice to meet the needs of the Dominion. The expenditure on militia and defence in the fiscal year 1910 amounted to 936,000*l.*; and this will no doubt be materially augmented when the new naval service is in full operation.

With regard to the Union of South Africa, as the Union only took effect on May 31, 1910, sufficient time has not intervened to permit the elaboration of a full scheme of national defence. The Defence Forces of the South African Union are about to be reorganised; but no official information is available as to the nature and scope of the proposed reorganisation. The military expenditure for 1911 is estimated at 440,000*l.* The map which accompanies paper No. 9 of the Imperial Conference, 1911, defines the geographical limits of the Cape of Good Hope Naval Station; and from this it may be assumed that it is contemplated that the Union will also provide a naval unit similar to those which are to be maintained in the East Indies, Australia and China Seas.

At the Imperial Conference of 1911, subsidiary conferences took place between the British Admiralty and the representatives of the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia with regard to naval and military defence. At this conference it was agreed that the naval services and forces of the Dominions of Canada and Australia should be exclusively under the control of their respective Governments. The training and discipline of the naval forces of the Dominions is to be generally uniform with the training and discipline of the fleet of the United Kingdom; and officers and men of the said forces are to be interchangeable with those under the control of the British Admiralty. The Canadian and Australian Governments are to have their own naval stations as agreed upon from time to time. The British Admiralty has undertaken to lend to the Dominions

during the period of development such officers and men as may be needed. In time of war, when the naval service of a Dominion has been put at the disposal of the Imperial Government by the Dominion Authorities, the ships will form an integral part of the British Fleet, and will remain under the control of the British Admiralty during the continuance of the war.

It may perhaps be urged that the awakening of the Overseas Dominions to a sense of their responsibilities in the matter of Imperial defence affords some ground for the limitation of the naval expenditure of Great Britain; but this is very far from being the case. Naval forces cannot be improvised; and, for many years to come, the naval units to be provided by the Dominions must be practically negligible so far as the great navies of the world are concerned. Moreover, it cannot be pretended that the naval programme which has recently been discarded by Canada would have been in keeping with the magnitude of her population, wealth and sea-borne commerce. The Commonwealth, with a population of 4,482,896 and a sea-borne trade which is valued at 160,000,000*l.* per annum, has undertaken a scheme which will ultimately involve a naval expenditure at the rate of about 4,400,000*l.* per annum; while Canada, with a population of 7,080,000, and an external trade of the value of about 140,000,000*l.* per annum, only proposed to spend 1,000,000*l.* per annum on naval defence.

The population of all races comprised in the Union of South Africa is 5,958,000, and the value of its external trade exceeds 96,000,000*l.* per annum. The sea-borne trade of India is worth over 200,000,000*l.* per annum; and that of the Crown Colonies is well over 160,000,000*l.* per annum. Of course, the action taken by the Dominions may in time be expected to relieve the British taxpayer of the annual charge of 2,500,000*l.* at present incurred in protecting the trade of the Overseas Dominions; but the maximum annual expenditure at present contemplated by Australia and Canada in respect of their naval forces cannot be expected to exceed 5,000,000*l.* per annum, and this maximum will not be reached for several years.

The magnitude of Great Britain's expenditure on naval armaments must always be judged primarily in the

relation which it bears to that of the other naval Powers; and the following summary, which shows the growth of naval expenditure by the eight great naval Powers during the past decade, will prove of some interest:

TOTAL NAVAL EXPENDITURE.

Power.	1902.	1911.	Increase.	Per cent.
	£	£	£	
Great Britain . . .	*35,227,837	*44,882,047	9,654,210	27
United States . . .	16,012,438	27,848,111	11,835,673	74
Germany	10,045,000	22,031,788	11,986,788	119
France	12,184,683	16,705,382	4,520,699	37
Russia	10,446,392	13,270,376	2,823,984	27
Italy	4,840,000	8,379,940	3,539,940	73
Japan	3,705,371	8,803,015	5,097,744	137
Austria-Hungary . .	1,954,617	5,152,382	3,197,765	163
Total	94,416,238	147,073,041	52,656,803	56

* Including expenditure from Loans under Naval Works Acts and appropriations in aid.

The total increase of naval expenditure by the eight Powers included in the above table during the ten years 1902-11, was 52,656,803*l.*, or 56 per cent.; and it will probably be a surprise to a great many people to learn that Great Britain, far from setting the pace in the matter of naval armaments, has during the period in question increased her naval expenditure at a lower rate than any other Power with the exception of Russia, which has the same ratio of increase, namely 27 per cent. Not only has our relative increase of expenditure been lower than that of the other seven Powers, but the actual amount of our increase, namely 9,654,210*l.*, has been surpassed by two Powers, namely, the United States, with an increase of 11,835,673*l.*, or 74 per cent., and Germany with an increase of 11,986,788*l.*, or 119 per cent.

In 1902 Great Britain's share of the total naval expenditure of the eight Great Powers was 37·3 per cent.; for the year 1911 it only represents 30·5 per cent. of the aggregate. Moreover, in considering the relative magnitude of the naval expenditure of Great Britain and the other Powers, it must be remembered that the figures given in the foregoing table do not represent strictly comparable quantities. Mr McKenna explained this when, in introducing the Estimates for 1911-12, he said:

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'On our Naval Estimates is a charge of 1,300,000*l.* for interest on loans. In Germany, where a precisely similar system has been adopted of borrowing for expenditure on large works, the charge for interest on loans is not put on the Naval Estimates, but is borne by the Minister of the Interior; and I should be very happy to dump 1,300,000*l.* on the Home Office Estimates. If I am going to compare my total with the German total, that 1,300,000*l.* must be struck off. Then I have to include in my Estimates votes for pensions, retired pay, and other charges. In Germany these are not charged to the Naval Estimates, but are borne by the Civil Estimates. Under similar circumstances the President of the Local Government Board would have to bear between two and three millions. Then, again, it is our national policy not to have conscription—a policy which I strongly support. I think we pay very little for the maintenance of the voluntary system; but, still, we have to pay for it. It is not fair that that factor should be left out of account. If I were to charge in my estimates only on the same scale as the German scale, I should reduce my vote for pay, victualling, clothing, medical charges, etc., by three millions.

'Taking all these items together, when comparing our Estimates with the German Estimates, you have to make a total deduction from my Estimates (44 millions) of no less than 8 millions, so that the true comparison is 36 millions to 22 millions. That is not all. Of these 36 millions at least 2½ millions are spent in the maintenance of fleets that were kept entirely on foreign stations, on the grounds of Empire and trade—fleets in the Pacific, Indian and Atlantic Oceans; I am not including the Mediterranean—which would not be available for service in the first line of battle in home waters in the event of war. That is an item which is a charge of Empire; and that ought not to be reckoned when we are making comparisons with other fleets which have no such charge. That would further reduce the 36 millions to 33½ millions. And that is the total it is proper to compare with the German 22 millions.' ('Times' report.)

Nor must the fact be overlooked that practically all the other Powers are about to increase their expenditure upon armaments. Austria has accepted a naval programme which will necessitate an expenditure of 12,000,000*l.* within the next five years. Italy proposes to increase her naval expenditure to the extent of 2,000,000*l.*; and France to the extent of 6,000,000*l.* Russia, Japan and the United States are all committed

to vast schemes of expansion in the matter of military and naval armaments. Germany has undertaken to spend an additional sum of 7,000,000*l.*, spread over a period of years, upon her army; and Europe is now anxiously awaiting an official declaration as to her future policy in the matter of naval armaments. Moreover, our naval position must be regarded not only in connexion with that of the next great naval Power but in relation to the whole of the naval forces of the world; and, when this is done, it will be perceived that our position is a declining one. Great Britain owns practically one-half of the mercantile marine of the world; but it would be difficult at the present time to establish our claim to the possession of one-third of the world's naval power; and, when the existing naval programmes of the Great Powers have been completed, our position can hardly fail to be still less favourable.

If Great Britain's naval expenditure be measured in relation to her foreign trade and shipping, it will be found that her present rate of expenditure is by no means excessive, as will be seen from the following table, which contains a statement of the ratio which the naval expenditure of the Great Powers bears to their mercantile marine and their foreign trade:

Power.	Naval expenditure 1910-11.	Gross tonnage of Mercantile Marine, Dec. 31, 1909.	Naval expenditure per ton.	Foreign trade, 1909.	Naval expenditure per cent.
	£		£ s.	£	
British Empire .	*44,882,047	19,012,294	2 7	†1,595,751,000	2·81
United States .	27,848,111	†2,761,605	10 0	594,986,000	4·68
Germany .	22,031,788	4,333,186	5 1	740,798,000	2·97
France .	16,705,382	1,882,280	8 19	435,709,000	3·83
Russia .	13,270,376	887,325	14 19	191,090,000	6·95
Italy .	8,379,940	1,320,635	6 6	199,143,000	4·2
Japan .	8,803,015	1,601,301	5 10	82,691,000	10·64
Austria-Hungary	5,152,382	779,029	6 12	210,822,000	2·44
Totals and averages}	147,073,041	32,577,655	4 10	4,050,990,000	3·63

* Naval expenditure of United Kingdom.

† Including inter-Imperial trade.

‡ Exclusive of steamships on Northern Lakes.

It will be observed from the foregoing figures that Great Britain's naval expenditure works out at an average of 2*l.* 7*s.* per ton on the gross tonnage of the mercantile marine of the British Empire. This is less than half the

amount per ton expended by Germany, which has the next lowest average, namely 5*l.* 1*s.* per ton. Italy, Austria and Japan spend from two-and-a-half to nearly three times as much per ton, while France expends more than three-and-a-half times as much, the United States nearly four-and-a-half times, and Russia six times as much per ton as Great Britain. It will also be observed that the ratio which the naval expenditure of Great Britain bears to the overseas trade of the Empire is 2·81 per cent., which is the lowest ratio of any of the Great Powers, with the exception of Austria. Germany follows more closely than in the tonnage averages; but it must be borne in mind that a great part of the external trade of all the European Powers is not carried by sea, while practically the whole of the trade of the Empire is sea-borne. The ratios of France and Italy are nearly 50 per cent. higher, and the ratio of the United States is about one hundred per cent. higher, than that of the British Empire. The Russian ratio is nearly two-and-a-half times as great; while that of Japan is nearly four times as large. Moreover, if the military expenditure of the other Great Powers be taken into account, it will be found that the relative position of Great Britain is still more favourable. On either of the above bases of comparison, therefore, it may be fairly claimed that the naval expenditure of Great Britain is not by any means excessive.

The following table contains a statement of the total sum expended by each of the Great Powers upon their army and navy for the latest year for which details are available, namely 1909-10, and the amount of such expenditure per head of their population.

Power.	Total expenditure on Army and Navy.	Expenditure per head.
	£	£ s. d.
Austria-Hungary	36,290,000	1 4 1
France	46,972,000	1 3 11
Germany	61,249,000	19 2
Great Britain and Ireland	63,043,000	1 7 9
Italy	21,374,000	12 5
Japan	16,395,000	6 2
Russia	56,560,000	7 1
United States	55,322,000	12 5
Total	357,205,000	Average 15 <i>s.</i> 2 <i>d.</i>

The total expenditure of Great Britain thus amounts to 17·7 per cent. of the whole, or little more than about one-half of the ratio which the naval expenditure of Great Britain bears to the aggregate naval expenditure of the same Powers. Our army and navy expenditure works out at an average of 1*l.* 7*s.* 9*d.* per head of the population of the United Kingdom, the highest average in the table; but, in view of our greater national wealth per head and the fact that our fleet and army are manned by voluntary service, this is not excessive.

It may be doubted whether many of those who grumble at this expenditure understand the extent to which the economic position of Great Britain as the centre of the world's monetary system is bound up with her naval supremacy. The capital value of British investments abroad now exceeds 3,700,000,000*l.** The annual income earned by these investments may be estimated at 185,000,000*l.* per annum. The earnings of our shipping industry, as carriers for the world, exceed 100,000,000*l.* per annum; and a further sum exceeding 50,000,000*l.* per annum is earned by our Banking, Mercantile and Insurance houses in respect of their services in the conduct of international trade. If Great Britain lost the hegemony of the seas, this vast fabric of credit would be brought into jeopardy. There would be grave danger of wholesale repudiations of indebtedness; and, in any case, the position of London as the citadel of the international financial system would be seriously threatened. During the past decade our income from investments abroad has increased by 40,000,000*l.*, and the earnings of our Banking and other houses by at least 20,000,000*l.* per annum, while our naval expenditure has advanced only to the extent of 10,000,000*l.* per annum.

It would be difficult to emphasise the gravity of the influence which the growth of expenditure upon armaments appears to be destined to exercise upon the economic future of Great Britain. We must maintain our position; and, in order to do so, a further large increase of expenditure would appear to be inevitable. The position of our national finances is one which calls

* See article on 'British Investments Abroad,' in 'Q. R.' July 1911.

for careful reconsideration. The Income Tax, always regarded, prior to the advent of the present Administration, as a reserve to be used for war purposes, has been forced up to a higher average level than was attained during either the Crimean or South African wars. The death duties have been advanced to a point which excites grave misgivings. The representations of the commercial community as to the necessity of a gold reserve have been completely ignored ; and at the present time one of the weakest parts of the scheme of national defence is the exposure of the London money market to a war panic. The State, undeterred by its unfortunate experiences as a banker, has undertaken a still more costly and difficult business, namely that of insurer. In short, during the past twenty years the national finances have been administered in a spirit of extravagance and irresponsibility, and with an amazing disregard of economic laws. Economy is the last consideration that appears to weigh with Parliament and the responsible members of the Government. The example of extravagance set by the Imperial Parliament has naturally influenced all the other public spending authorities ; and the cost of Local Government has attained a level which may involve before long the reconstruction of the whole fabric of national finance.

But our financial difficulties have their counterpart in the Budgets of practically all the other Powers. Britain is the only nation of the first rank that has reduced the amount of its national debt to any material extent in recent years. It would be easy to find grounds for the creation of a Naval Loan to meet any further great increase of naval expenditure that may prove necessary ; and, if that policy should fail to commend itself, there is the alternative of a tariff for revenue purposes. The other seven Powers have only been able to expend these vast sums by the imposition of heavy tariffs ; and it might be difficult to resist a measure of Tariff Reform for this country if it were designed purely for the purpose of providing revenue to meet expenditure on national defence. Moreover, it is not unreasonable to hope that within the next decade the self-governing Dominions will contribute 5,000,000*l.* per annum towards the cost of the naval defence of the Empire, and that if necessity should

arise they will be in a position to increase their contributions to 10,000,000*l.* per annum.

For these reasons Great Britain can afford to continue the economic war of armaments upon the existing lines with the almost certain prospect of a greater power of sustained effort than any other nation. The overthrow of Napoleon was very largely due to the prolonged resistance which our financial resources enabled us to offer a century ago; and, if our present resources are conserved and applied to their proper purposes, there is every reason to hope that we may be able to maintain our position. But we must not underrate the financial resources of our rivals at sea, and we must be prepared to make further sacrifices to maintain our supremacy. Even a successful war with the second great Naval Power might well cost this country in one shape or another 500,000,000*l.*, the bulk of which would be irrecoverable by way of indemnity; while the pecuniary loss and suffering which would result from an unsuccessful conflict with such a Power could not be measured.

(If the national finances are skilfully administered, Great Britain might, without straining her resources to the breaking-point, materially augment the present rate of her expenditure on armaments; and, when the Overseas Dominions have fully developed their schemes of naval defence, it should be quite within the bounds of possibility for Great Britain to raise the level of her expenditure on the army and navy to eighty-five or even ninety millions for whatever period it might be found necessary to do so. An expenditure at this rate should enable us to attain such a preponderance of strength that it would be an act of supreme folly for any Power to attack us. The Great Powers of Europe cannot go on piling up their expenditure on armaments for ever; and, if we make it perfectly clear to our rivals that we are able and willing to expend whatever sums may be necessary to maintain the command of the seas, there is ground for hope that international politics may enter upon a more settled phase than they have occupied since the sea-power of Germany became a factor in the politics of the world.)

EDGAR CRAMMOND.

Art. 11.—TRIPOLI AND CONSTANTINOPLE.

ATHWART the confusion which now reigns in Constantinople it is hard to discern the issues at stake, or even to distinguish the principal actors from the instruments. Strong bias and wild passion impair the judgment and ruffle the temper of the annalist as well as of the *dramatis personæ* in the national tragedy which is being played before a half-heeding world. Most things are envisaged out of perspective; public men are weighted with wrong motives; the very nation is become inaccessible, invisible, almost inaudible, to the public of the West. Turkey is now impersonated by a body of men whose motives may well be patriotic, but whose public acts can hardly be justified by ethics, or explained by political expediency. The predominant trait of the members of the Secret Committee which now holds sway in the Empire is all-absorbing solicitude for their own safety, which they identify with the furtherance of the national weal. This ever-present care is the central hinge of their policy, domestic and foreign; it is the decisive factor in Turkey's destinies to-day.

Some three years ago the Young Turkish Committee inaugurated their rule to the accompaniment of tumultuous plaudits; they are ending it to-day in an outburst of general execration. At first men took them on trust; and reasonably; for, although their intentions were obscure, they had a brilliant record—the overthrow of Hamidism which they had accomplished with the help of the army. Until that aim was attained the Committee had been a secret revolutionary society, including among its members bombists and dare-devils whose main qualifications were ability and readiness to keep secrets and take lives. But once the revolutionary feat was achieved, honest, plain-dealing patriots—among them Colonel Sadik Bey—proposed that the Secret Society should now step aside and make way for open government. But the more violent members of the sodality, reckless spirits better able to kill than to govern, were for holding fast the reins of power and enjoying the sweets without bearing the responsibilities of office. And their wishes prevailed. Thenceforward the Secret Committee became double-

faced like Janus. It continued to be a revolutionary agency, and as such employed the bullet and the dagger as in the days of Abdul Hamid ; but it was also a political board, choosing and overturning Cabinets, marshalling its parliamentary deputies like so many soldiers, and determining the policy of the Empire. The main results of this direction were the dangerous tension with France and the Powers of the Triple Entente ; the massacres of Armenians at Adana ; the risings and rebellions in the Yemen and in Albania ; the loss of Tripoli and the inchoate disruption of the Empire.

Very soon the Committee which is answerable for these disasters and crimes began to lose ground in the eyes of the best elements of the nation, owing to its frantic endeavours to dissolve the Greeks, Bulgarians, Arabs, Albanians and other nationalities, and merge them all in the Turkish race. From the statesman's angle of vision a childish but fatal freak, this measure may well have seemed a clever expedient to politicians who take only short-sighted views and pursue merely party interests. For the army, whence the Secret Committee drew its strength, was composed exclusively of Moslems, and chiefly of men of Turkish race. And, as it was they who had overthrown the despotism of Abdul Hamid and were maintaining the independence of the nation at the risk of their lives, they were pleased to reflect that they would reap where they had sown. The Secret Committee and the army, therefore, went hand in hand. Voices were at times uplifted against this glaring breach of faith—voices of fair-minded men whose sense of justice had not been contracted by the narrowing interests of cliques and parties. These dissentients pointed out that the Turks were not the majority of the nation, nor the Atlas on whose shoulders the Empire rests. The Arabs are more numerous than the Turks, and much more cultured. The wealth-makers of the Empire are the Greeks, the Armenians, the Bulgars. In a word, the elements of the political community are many and heterogeneous ; and all of them possess claims to consideration which it would be suicidal to disallow. One by one these non-conformists were hustled out of the Committee and the party. Colonel Sadik Bey, who is regarded as one of the first and most enterprising founders of the original Com-

mittee, was persuaded to remain in it until, losing hope of reforming the members, he too was obliged to go. The officers alone, although disconcerted by what they saw and heard, still remained faithful to the Secret Society in whose patriotism and foresight they continued to place implicit trust. They argued that a Committee which undertakes to govern an Empire must perforce be allowed a large measure of initiative and discretion. They themselves lacked the leisure and the training indispensable to a sound political judgment, and were keenly alive to their limitations. Hence they took the men of the Secret Junta, among whom there were still some patriots of clear conscience and sharp vision, at their own high estimate. It was late last year when the outbreak of the war with Italy at last furnished them with a criterion which enables even the plain man to gauge aright the real worth of these self-appointed rough-hewers of a nation's destinies.

However leniently one may judge the Committee, it is impossible to blink the close causal nexus between its impolitic action in Tripoli and the Italian expedition against that vilayet. If a secret ally or a venal instrument of King Victor Emmanuel's Government had had that province denuded of troops six months before the outbreak of the war, one might justly compliment him on his well-timed efforts to render the Italian invasion successful. And that was the effect of the Committee's measures, whatever its motive. Abdul Hamid, self-centred though he was, had always taken care to keep in Tripoli a sufficient number of land forces to repel a foreign incursion. And so long as the standard laid down by him was maintained it was certainly difficult—some experts say impossible—for Italy to occupy the province. But the Cabinet which the Secret Committee had nominated, and was prompting, actually withdrew the troops from Tripoli and transferred them to the Yemen to quell a rebellion there which its own shortsightedness had conjured up. That was Italy's opportunity; and she has profited by it to the full. Without that act of political unwisdom the war might never have broken out, or, if it had, it would not, perhaps, have ended in the annexation of the province. The main facts can be grasped by everyone; and the quidnuncs in the

bazaars of Stamboul and the pedlar on the streets of Scutari are able to draw the inevitable inferences.

Since November last the speed with which the Committee has been losing ground is vertiginous. At first outside supporters fell away; then whilom fervid partisans in parliament grew hostile; and at last army officers kicked against the pricks. As a direct consequence of these defections the political clubs in the provinces which were affiliated to the Committee have dwindled perceptibly in number. Many for lack of members have had to dissolve; others have become bankrupt. To-day there is not a single club faithful to the Secret Committee in all Syria. Throughout the Empire the followers of the Committee are in such a small minority that the Committee itself would probably wind up its affairs and give place to open and responsible government were it not for the mortal fear which its members entertain that they will be dealt with for their palpable deeds even as they dealt with their opponents for mere words or supposed thoughts. The struggle has now become a matter of self-defence, of life and death, for the Committee, whose members are ready to provoke civil war and its consequences rather than expose themselves to the risk of imprisonment or ignominious death. But deeper influences are now at work than any which the Committee can command. The Christian races—Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians—heretofore at sixes and sevens amongst themselves, have for some time past united against ‘government by conspiracy’; and they have proved eminently successful in keeping liberal thought and generous aim aglow despite the desperate efforts put forth by the Committee to extinguish them. But luck and cunning enable the telegraphists, schoolmasters, physicians, salesmen, and officers of Salonica to hold on to the reins of power yet awhile. For the war has silenced active opposition, while office and its emoluments form a strong cement which binds the followers and their invisible leaders.

The method pursued by the head centre of the organisation is the old-world way of judiciously using money and money’s worth. Influential individuals are set in positions where they can exercise their influence and the power combined with it to the best advantage

for the cause which they represent. One person is made a Governor General, another is appointed Commissioner of the local police, a third occupies the post of public prosecutor, a fourth commands the military forces, a fifth is at the head of the gendarmes. Military officers of high grades are especially favoured. In a word, all the strategical positions in the Empire are in the hands of Committee-men; and, so long as the army or a noteworthy section of it can be counted upon, all will be well. To this end the most strenuous endeavours of the Committee have been directed. For instance, every lever has been moved in order to atone for the policy which led to the loss of Tripoli. The Committee announced its resolve to throw overboard Hakki Pasha, who, as Grand Vizier, was technically responsible for that policy; but the disgraced Grand Vizier made no secret of his amusement at the comedy. Again, it was on the point of dismissing the War Minister, Mahmoud Shefket Pasha, and substituting for him the brave, generous, and honest General Nazim Pasha, whose beneficial activity as Vali of Baghdad it had systematically paralysed a short time previously. But more helpful and noteworthy than this was the vigorous and really splendid effort it made to organise resistance to the Italians in the invaded province. There everything that the instinct of self-preservation could prompt and enterprise sharpened by fear could execute has been done to expiate the criminal neglect which cost Turkey her most orthodox vilayet, and to uphold the honour of the army. But resistance to Italy was vain from the day on which Mahmoud Shefket Pasha, yielding to the advice of the Grand Vizier, Hakki Pasha—who in turn had taken counsel of the German ambassador, Baron Marschall von Biberstein—had withdrawn the troops from Tripoli. That insensate act entailed the abandonment of the province either to Italy or to her ally. What has since taken place could have been and was foreseen by politicians of average sagacity.

So long as the struggle continues, the chiefs of the Opposition will accept implicitly the government which the Committee has given them, and loyally co-operate with it for the prosecution of the war. But not much longer. Their standpoint, as they propounded it to me, is this: 'If we cannot drive the Italians into the sea,

they cannot drive us out of the desert and effectively occupy the invaded province for a long time to come. Meanwhile they must spend vast sums in prosecuting the war. If, then, we can protract the contest indefinitely, Italy will be bankrupt. This perspective, as soon as it looms in sharp enough outline, should, and probably will, compel the Italians to modify their hasty resolutions and make peace on terms less odious than annexation. Anyhow the experiment must be made, for it is a practical corollary of the present situation, and is indispensable to the dignity of the army.'

Italy, on the other hand, naturally eager to put an end to the drain on her soldiers and her treasury, holds that now is the acceptable time for peace. She has made it known that every reasonable demand of Turkey, short of the retention of the Sultan's suzerainty over Tripoli, will be favourably entertained. The religious supremacy of the Caliph will be recognised readily and upheld strictly by the Italian Government. Economic advantages of great value are also held out to the Turks; and a lump sum of money will be paid down ostensibly as an equivalent for the pious endowments known as Vakoofs, but in reality as a *quid pro quo* for the territory annexed. In a word, Austria's line of action in 1908 will be followed by Italy in 1911. Possibly a further condition will be proposed by Turkey and agreed to by the Marchese di San Giuliano, in the shape of a guarantee of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, to which the adhesion of the other Great Powers interested in the Near East will be duly requested by and by.

To negotiations for peace on these terms the Turkish Opposition, if I may judge by the emphatic statements made to me by its leaders, will offer an energetic demurrer. And the Opposition of to-day consists of something more than the scattered elements of a possible parliamentary group. It is a party with ramifications throughout the Empire, and organs to carry out the behests of the central board. One of the main internal sources whence its foe, the Secret Committee, hitherto drew strength was its admirable machinery for action. In this respect it was unique. No other political party in the Empire could boast an organisation. The Greeks, the Bulgars, the Armenians could and would have organised them-

selves better even than their adversaries; but the Pan-Turkish authorities forbade them. Every effort of the Christian nationalities in this direction was frustrated; and the dissentient Turks who might have bound themselves together were sluggish. Over and over again I had received from Colonel Sadik Bey, from Lutfi Fikri Bey, and from other prominent patriots in Constantinople, the assurance that they were working at the problem, and that they and their friends would soon appear as a political entity with all the organs essential to vigorous party life and spirited action. But somehow the achievement, for which the date had more than once been fixed, failed to redeem the promise. At last the unexpected happened. On November 27, Damad Ferid Pasha obtained from his brother-in-law, the Sultan, permission to accept the presidency of the new Opposition, whose vice-president is the celebrated Sadik Bey. And on his return from the Dolma Baghtshe palace, the Pasha unfolded to me at length, in words of praiseworthy moderation, the patriotic aims of the new party and the legitimate means by which they intend to pursue them.

Meanwhile the men of the Secret Committee continue to give a distinctly Hamidian savour to the revolting absolutism which has grown up and thriven under their shadow. Of the abhorrent methods of this régime, which is unique in constitutional history, the western reader, for lack of trustworthy data, cannot form an adequate idea. Secrecy veils the origins of the most nefarious designs; and a cloud of factitious circumstance effectually hides or obscures the accompaniments of their execution. It has been credibly asserted that the Committee, misnamed of 'Union and Progress,' whose professed aim is the furtherance of fraternal relations among the warring elements of the population, actually compassed the extermination of culture-bearing sections of the Greeks, the Bulgarians and other nationalities. Men of honour claim to have been present at the time when these resolutions were adopted by the Committee. Winged words and historic phrases uttered by some of the speakers are textually quoted. That is one part of the evidence. In assassination and persecution we are told to seek the other. Not once, but on several occasions the ways and means of carrying out these

nefarious designs are credibly affirmed to have been discussed in council. At first wholesale massacre, after the manner of Abdul Hamid, was planned; and more Armenians were slaughtered at Adana under the shadow of the Committee than at Moush, Bitlis or Constantinople under that of the 'red Sultan.' But it was soon perceived that European public opinion would not brook these exhibitions of sickening carnage, whereupon quasi-private assassination by hired desperadoes was resorted to. The Metropolitan Archbishop of Grevena and one of his deacons were thus put to death and shockingly mutilated a couple of months ago. Long lists of Greeks, Bulgarians, Armenians, waylaid and slain by 'unseen hands,' have been presented to me by the heads of the Christian communities in the Empire; here four individuals laid low, there three or two, at another place one. The dagger and the revolver had no rest night or day; and the assassins invariably made good their escape. Some of them carried hardness of heart so far as to challenge the men whom they had designed as their future victims to complain to the Minister of the Interior!

Nor are the Christians the only victims of these political assassins. The Turks themselves, whenever they dared to protest against this outrageous policy, were done to death without scruple or remorse. Examples are so numerous that selection is difficult. One day a friend of mine, a well-known member of the Committee of Union and Progress, was presiding at one of its secret meetings when the life of Prince Sabah Eddine was demanded. That young and generous Prince, the Sultan's nephew, had incurred the wrath of the *Vehmgericht* by preaching equality for all races and creeds, and exhorting the Government and its reckless patrons to abandon a line of action which was manifestly pregnant with national disaster. My friend, resolved to frustrate the scheme, protracted the debate throughout the night and finally, before the resolution could be put to the vote, adjourned the sitting. Subsequently Prince Sabah Eddine quitted his country, and is now residing in Paris until the reign of terror is over.

The tragic death of the intrepid Turkish journalists, Zekki Bey and Samim Bey, and the escape of Mouhtar

Bey, will one day form instructive and unedifying chapters of the history of the Turkish revolution. All these and other public workers whose names were in the list of the proscribed, received warnings of their approaching end. Take one case as typical. The narrative was told to me by the best friend of the murdered publicist. Samim Bey, a man whose probity and civic virtue, aided by the marvellous power he had of drawing men towards him, gave dignity and weight to the efforts of Turkish patriots to establish good government, received the warning for the first time one afternoon as he was on his way to Kandili, a village on the Bosphorus about an hour from Constantinople. He was seated at a table in a restaurant when an officer, whose name I possess, rose and said: 'Samim Bey, you won our hearts by the sterling services you rendered our cause in bringing about the deposition of Abdul Hamid. You have a lion's heart. And now I have weighty tidings to give you. Your journal ("Sedai Milet"*) is the organ of the Greek patriarch.† You are conducting a campaign in it against the Committee. Unless you cease from that campaign and quit that journal, the executive of the Committee has resolved that you shall die. But it has also decided to give you a warning and a reasonable time to make your choice.'

Samim Bey made answer: 'By advocating friendship between Turks and Greeks, Moslems and Christians, I believe I am furthering the vital interests of my country. Therefore your threat will have no effect upon my action, as you shall see. That is my answer to the Committee.'

'Your words pain me,' exclaimed the Committee's delegate, 'for they entail your death.'

That scene was enacted thirty-one days before the murder. A fortnight later, another delegate of the Committee, whose name I also possess, delivered the same message to Samim Bey in the restaurant of Yani in Pera, the only difference being that he twice took an oath saying: 'I swear, Samim Bey, that this is no empty threat. It is grim earnest.' These words were uttered in the presence of Shefket Bey Kibrizli, grandson of a

* 'The Way of the People.'

† This was a falsehood; but whoever is not with the Committee is labelled a traitor and is generally accused of being in the pay of the Greeks.

famous Grand Vizier and of Shahab Eddin Suleiman Bey, the well-known publicist. And the threat was carried out. One afternoon a fortnight later, Samim Bey, who had just quitted his friend, Mouhtar Bey, was shot dead in Stamboul. He was only twenty-six years old, and he left a widow and four children. The *juge d'instruction*, whose function it is to hear the evidence and say whether there is a *prima facie* case against anyone, heard the witnesses but refused to prosecute. The officer, X—Bey, was promoted; he now occupies an enviable position near the person of the Sultan.

Under such conditions it is natural that the Committee should carry its eagerness for the retention of power to the extreme point of readiness to fight, and fight hard for it. The cardinal fact for Turkey, and indeed for Europe, is this resolve of the Committee to resist, by foul means or fair, every attempt, constitutional or other, to wrest the reins of power from their hands. Said Pasha is the Grand Vizier whom they have chosen as their champion; and his recent attempt to alter the Constitution is a significant strategical move. It closes the legal door to the redress of intolerable grievances. The interest of Europe is accordingly centred at its highest pitch in the struggle which is now impending, and in which there is as yet no protagonist. It is well to remember that this contest is but the culminating point of a slow process which is radically changing Turkey's status for the present and permanently altering her direction in the future. As soon as a treaty terminates the war and responsibilities are fixed, the *chassez-croisez* of the 'ins and outs' will begin; and, unless Damad Ferid Pasha, Sadik Bey, and their political friends come forward quickly and apply drastic remedies unstintingly, the 'sick man' will be well launched on the second phase of his lingering illness, and the interested Great Powers will discern their way more clearly towards the last political Eldorado.

E. J. DILLON.

Art. 12.—THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE AND THE
LIBERAL UNIONISTS.

1. *The Life of Spencer Compton, Eighth Duke of Devonshire.* By Bernard Holland, C.B. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1911.
2. *The Life of George Joachim Goschen, First Viscount Goschen.* By the Hon. Arthur D. Elliot. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1911.

THE death of the Duke of Devonshire in 1907 was the turning of the last page in the longest, and in some respects the greatest, chapter in English political history. It was the end of the Whigs. The Whig party had, indeed, as Mr Holland points out, ceased to exist some years earlier. It lasted almost exactly two centuries, from the Revolution of 1688 to the Liberal Unionist acceptance of office in the Conservative Ministry of 1895. But, so long as the Duke of Devonshire lived, the Whig spirit was still visibly a great power in the political life of the nation. Perhaps no one in all the course of these two centuries embodied it quite so perfectly as he in whom it died.

What is a Whig? No word has suffered more from the looseness of definition which has always been characteristic of politicians. Throughout the eighteenth century almost every statesman, Harley as well as Somers, Chatham as well as Walpole, Burke as well as Fox, called himself a Whig. But Chatham and Burke, at least, were men of ideas; and, as we look back and watch the essence of Whiggism gradually solidifying, gradually taking its proper and definite shape, we see that no man of ideas can really be a Whig. The beginning of Whiggism is the Great Revolution, the most useful, the most sensible, the most legal of Revolutions, but also the least glorious, the least imaginative, the least connected, either as child or parent, with ideas. The Whigs who made it might talk of such theories as the original contract; but what they had in hand was for them, as all subsequent questions were for their true descendants, a matter of business and of common sense. Their whole turn of mind was equally far removed from the principle of the Divine Right of kings as taught by

Anglican bishops, and from that of the inherent lawfulness of rebellion and the rule of the saints which inspired the conscience and excused the ambition of Cromwell. Things rather than words, practice rather than theory, a working solution for the moment rather than the establishment of any eternal principles—these were from first to last the characteristics of the Whigs. And no one illustrated them more exactly than their last and, perhaps, most honourable exponent, Spencer Compton Cavendish, who was for half a century one of the principal figures in English politics as Marquis of Hartington and finally as Duke of Devonshire.

His Life was awaited with more than common interest. It was not merely that he was more universally respected and trusted than any other statesman of recent years. Indeed, the qualities that won him the special confidence of the nation were not at all of the sort that make for an exciting biographical story. But it was known that the book was to be written by his former private secretary, Mr Bernard Holland; and those who knew anything of the two men felt that there was a pleasant piquancy in the thought that the life of Lord Hartington was to be written for us by the interpreter of the German mystic, Jacob Behmen. It may be said at once that Mr Holland has accomplished his task admirably, and has given us one of the two or three best political biographies of the Victorian epoch. Assuredly no one was ever less of a Whig than Mr Holland. His previous books had made that clear; but the fact is placed beyond a doubt by his treatment of certain episodes in the Duke's life, notably by his evident feeling about the mission of Gordon, so very different from the attitude of his hero or of Lord Cromer; and again still more conspicuously by his unsympathetic account of the Duke's resistance to the Tariff Reform schemes of Mr Chamberlain. That resistance seemed necessary to the Duke, not because Mr Chamberlain was unorthodox, but because he failed altogether to prove that his schemes would work. The Duke was not the least moved by abstract economic arguments, of which he characteristically said that he never could answer any on either side; but solely by the practical results which seemed to him likely to follow.

It was the same with regard to the Imperialist aspect

of the question. The Duke cared as much about the Empire as Mr Chamberlain, and began caring much sooner. But he was an Imperialist who wanted to see his way; while Mr Chamberlain—and Mr Holland—are Imperialists who live by faith and are prepared for faith's daring and uncertain ventures. The result of this lack of sympathy is that this last section is the only unsatisfactory part of the book. It is written rather lifelessly and perfunctorily; and the author does not appear to have taken pains to understand exactly the Duke's attitude, still less to point out that, while the lapse of eight years has weakened the pure Cobdenite position, it has confirmed the Whig doubts about a workable plan of Tariff Reform. Mr Holland is even occasionally inaccurate in detail. For instance, the Duke was never President of 'The Unionist Free Trade League.' That body was founded by Sir Michael Hicks Beach, and was dissolved on the foundation of 'The Unionist Free Trade Club' under the Duke's presidency. Nor did this club perish for lack of funds or support. It died of our party system, under which a voter must vote either Liberal or Conservative; the result being that the members of the club found themselves forced at elections to sacrifice either Free Trade or Unionism, and differed as to which should be the victim.

For another and more important inaccuracy Mr Holland is hardly to be blamed, since his error, if, as we believe, it is an error, is one so common as to be almost universal. In his account of the Cabinet differences as to the Budget of 1903, and particularly as to the repeal of the shilling duty on corn, he implies that the repeal was entirely due to Mr Ritchie. But we have very high authority for believing that what actually happened was this. Mr Chamberlain, as is well known, demanded that the duty should be used for the purpose of providing a preference for Canadian corn. To this Mr Ritchie absolutely refused to assent, to the extreme annoyance of Mr Chamberlain, who thought that the Cabinet had, in the previous November, agreed to this policy. Mr Ritchie's resistance prevailed, and no system of Preference was adopted. But, apart from the question of Preference, Mr Ritchie was quite willing that the tax should remain; and the truth is that the repeal of the

duty was due not to him, but, strange as it will sound, to Mr Chamberlain. Mr Ritchie was ready to retain the duty on the principle on which Sir Michael Hicks Beach had imposed it, namely, as a means of obtaining revenue; but he would have nothing to do with Preference. Mr Chamberlain, being unable to get both, refused to have either; he preferred not to have the duty at all if it could not be used as he desired; and the duty was therefore dropped.*

This, however, as we have said, is not a mistake for which Mr Holland can be seriously blamed; and, apart from his treatment of the Free Trade controversy, the book is admirably done, more particularly that part of it which deals with the greatest event in the Duke's career, his successful resistance to Home Rule. That and the penetrating study of the gradual and reluctant but quite fundamental estrangement between Lord Hartington and Mr Gladstone are the most interesting things in a book every word of which is interesting to those who like political history, and doubly so to those who like to see how it is affected by the individual idiosyncrasies that make up the drama of human nature.

It is true that Mr Holland tells us very little of the Duke except the politician. He makes no attempt to be a Boswell; and, if he had tried, the materials would probably have failed him. It was not for nothing that the Duke was a Cavendish. Not even in that strongly-marked family of taciturn aristocrats, doing their duty from generation to generation, without enthusiasm, without illusion, without the slightest desire of praise or popularity, was there ever a man less likely to suffer himself 'to be made a motley to the view' of the newspaper public. Unlike Mr Gladstone in all ways, he was in none more unlike than in this. Mr Gladstone had so long made a diet of popular applause that he could not live without it. At least he must have public attention; if it could not take the form of a cloud of incense, rather than miss it altogether he would welcome it in that of a shower of stones. The Duke, on the other hand, was equally indifferent to applause and abuse, and much

* Since this paragraph was written, Lord Ritchie of Dundee, who was not our authority, has written to the 'Morning Post' (December 7) to say that it is not true that his father insisted upon the removal of the tax.

preferred silence to either. His indifference was, of course, a weakness as well as a strength. But his remarkable influence in the country was largely due to it. It was felt by every hearer of his speeches; and no doubt it conveyed to them the impression of a man who was in politics against his will, for whom dismissal would be no punishment, and neither office nor popularity any temptation. That is what made it possible for Mr Balfour to say that among all the statesmen of his time the Duke was the most persuasive speaker—that, and his manifest desire not to conceal, misrepresent or minimise any point in the case of his opponents.

Such was the temperament of the man, and it is obviously not of the sort that makes personal biography easy. Mr Holland gives us a certain number of stories that help us to realise what the Duke was like when he was, as it were, 'off duty'; but of his intimate private life we are told nothing. Probably there is less to tell than in most cases. The unexpansive statesman was also an unexpansive human being; and, though in private as in public the most loyal and trusted of men, he had, it seems, no intimate friends except the lady who ultimately became his wife. No private letters are included in the book; there is not a word written to or by his wife, and hardly any to members of the family with whom he lived in such close unity. Children, who often force the closed door of a shy man's affections, were not a part of his experience of life. The world in which he lived was a world of acquaintances rather than of intimate friends. Probably, therefore, no material exists for a picture of the inner chambers of the Duke's personality. If it does, Mr Holland has not cared, or has not been allowed, to use it.

Of those little external touches that help one to visualise a man and are sometimes keys to more important things, there are, indeed, a few; and their scarcity enhances their value. We have, for instance, a complaint of the Duke's untidy clothes from that most singular high priest of the cult of Adonis, Mr W. H. Smith, who reports that Lord Hartington came to see him at Aix 'dressed as a seedy shady sailor.' We learn on the authority of Mr Wilfrid Ward that he liked substantial food, could exclaim on the arrival of roast beef to rein-

force a too elegant and ethereal dinner, 'Hurrah! something to eat at last,' and twenty years later could still remember the dinner and the principal fact about it, which—in spite of the presence of Mr Gladstone, Cardinal Vaughan and other great personages—was simply that 'we had nothing to eat!' Again, we hear that he was so careless about engagements as to cause a certain hostess to say that, when she had invited Lord Hartington, she always asked one man to spare, on the principle of the twelfth man in a cricket team; that he forgot Queen Victoria's messages to Lord Salisbury, and King Edward's promises to dine with him; that he so long omitted to get a new hat that five-and-twenty ladies of his acquaintance are said to have conspired each to send him one on his birthday; and finally, that he liked children, and, while leader of the Opposition, was once found stretched on the floor playing knuckle-bones with Lady Granville's daughters. This last picture is one of the few that link him with the man who carried the Union which it was his own great achievement to save, the imperious and self-confident Pitt. Two other of the great names of the House of Commons, Walpole and Althorp, are recalled by his passion for hunting, but it did not last so long with him; nor, fortunately, did his love of cards ever go deep enough to recall the most famous of his predecessors in the leadership of the Opposition, Charles James Fox. Finally, he took the true 'grand seigneur' interest in agriculture. Once when some foolish peer was talking in the House of Lords about the proudest moment in his life, he was heard to murmur, 'The proudest moment in my life was when my pig won the first prize at Skipton Fair.'

A few more serious traits are given by Mr Charles Hamilton and Mrs Arthur Strong, both of whom worked in his service, and speak with equal admiration of his kindness as a chief, of his generous views of the claims made upon him, and of his strong sense of duty, and particularly of his own duty on the principle of *noblesse oblige*. Mr Hamilton adds his testimony to what is less known, his reluctant but continuous hard work. Some people again will be surprised at Mrs Strong's report that he was a large buyer of books, making constant additions to the Chatsworth Library; and still more at her account

of the last time she saw him at Chatsworth, when she showed him the first edition of 'Paradise Lost' and he proceeded, to her astonishment, to read the opening of the poem aloud. 'He read on for quite a time, stopping once to say, "How fine this is! I had forgotten how fine it was!" when the Duchess came in and, poking her parasol into his ribs, whimsically remarked, "If he begins to read poetry he will never come out for his walk."'

Perhaps this last trait is the only one of these small personal details which might also have been true of his colleague and friend whose biography appeared earlier in the year, George Joachim Goschen. Goschen was neither a Whig, nor an aristocrat, nor a sportsman. He was a man of the middle class, a man of business who happened also to be a man of books. The Duke of Devonshire presided at one time over the Education Department and was Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; but, though he discharged the duties of both these posts with his usual thoroughness, no one will wonder at his asking with a groan how he had ever come to 'get the reputation of an educational expert.' But Goschen, who became in his turn Chancellor of Oxford, was a man who always took education seriously, for himself and for other people, and was the exact opposite of the Duke in finding in study and intellectual occupations the pleasure as well as the business of his life.

The contrast between them was marked from the first. The two men who were destined to act so closely together entered official life at the same moment; but it was in order to counterbalance so new a man and so advanced a politician as Goschen that Lord Russell asked the representative of the Whig house of Cavendish to become Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. From that time forward Lord Hartington and Goschen were closely associated till the end of their careers; and it is remarkable that the 'advanced politician' of 1866 was the first to abandon Mr Gladstone. Men of ideas always move faster and further than men of habit and tradition. A man who became a Liberal because he sympathised with Liberal ideas could cease to be one directly Liberal ideas became something with which he could not sympathise. A man who was a Liberal because the Liberals were the successors of the Whigs, and because he had in

him two hundred years of Whig blood and an inherited aptitude for the compromises necessary to common political action, was sure not to move so quickly. No one is so conscious of his ancestors as a Whig aristocrat; no one thinks so little about them as a man of ideas.

Goschen, then, took publicly his own line much sooner than Lord Hartington. He had accepted the Reform Bill of 1867, and remained till 1874 a loyal member of Mr Gladstone's Cabinet. So well-informed a critic as Mr Childers even thought him likely to succeed Mr Gladstone in 1874. But, from the first, Goschen was thinking for himself; and men who both do that and prefer their convictions to their ambition always quarrel with the party machine sooner or later. The political struggle in the Europe of the future will possibly not be so much one between rich and poor as one between the democracy and science. Already, in every country, trained intelligence looks with profound distrust on the ignorant emotionalism of the all-powerful mob. Everywhere it complains that in difficult questions, as those of finance, of education, of poor relief, of insurance, of foreign affairs, the solution adopted is guided less than it should be by the opinion of those who understand it, and more by the opinion of those who merely want to find some showy political goods for the party shop-window.

Goschen was one of the quickest to feel this danger; and it led to his first separation from his party. His views were not those of the mere 'property-defence' Conservative. His fears were wider and more disinterested. So early as 1867 he contributed to a magazine a searching analysis of the probable tendencies of the new voters, prophesying that they would be more sentimental than the old, very susceptible about their own social class, more ready to go to war, more inclined to Government interference, less faithful to political economy. Some at least of these prophecies have been fulfilled; and, though Goschen was agreeably surprised at the slow coming of the fulfilment, he did not support the extension of the franchise to the agricultural labourers and was not included in the Cabinet of 1880. During the five following years he became increasingly dissatisfied—as was Lord Hartington within the Cabinet—with the policy of Mr Gladstone, and still more with the

language and personality of Mr Chamberlain. Naturally enough, he was anxious to get the Whig leader to come out into the open and organise the moderate Liberals while there was still time. Equally naturally, a sense of the practical difficulties in that course combined with Whig tradition and sturdy party loyalty to make Lord Hartington hesitate. What would have happened if Mr Gladstone had not declared for Irish Home Rule no one can say. That finally opened Lord Hartington's eyes. The mist of Gladstonian explanations, which had so long kept him from seeing where he was, at last lifted. He saw that he and Mr Gladstone did not mean the same thing; and he formed the Liberal Unionist party.

Of that party Goschen was, from the first, one of the leading spirits. All secessions are richer in brains and character than in numbers; for only men of more than the ordinary intelligence and sense of duty ever face the discomfort of thinking for themselves and acting on their thoughts. The Liberal Unionist party was rich above most other secessions in such men. And the greatest compliment ever received by Goschen was that paid him by Mr Gladstone when, in a letter to Lord Granville, written in July 1886, he said that it was Goschen who supplied, in the main, 'soul, brains and movement' to the Liberal Unionist party. The man who held such a position in such a party assuredly deserves not to be forgotten; and it is well that his biography was entrusted to one so sure to understand him as Mr Arthur Elliot, who acted with him in political life for many years, and has himself had an opportunity of showing that he shared Goschen's contempt for office and party ties when they bar the way pointed out by convictions seriously held.

Goschen never held so great a position, either in politics or in the world, as the Duke of Devonshire; and his life cannot have quite the same interest. Like most men whose characters have been mainly formed by study and reflection, there was in him, perhaps, a lack of that racy individuality which distinguishes men who, like the Duke, remain what nature made them at their birth. The mind and character of Goschen counted for a great deal; his personality for very little. That was the impression the living man made; and the biography confirms it or leaves it where it was. Mr Elliot has not

tried, or has been unable, to do more than give us a vigorous and readable account of Goschen's political career. The secret of the man still escapes the reader as it escaped his contemporaries; and now, as then, it prevents his ever occupying the position held by men like the Duke, or Mr Gladstone, or Lord Randolph Churchill, or Mr Chamberlain, each in some important respects conspicuously Goschen's inferior, but each a man whose personality was a large outstanding fact, easily grasped by his countrymen. Yet Goschen possessed to a remarkable degree one of the gifts most fitted to make a statesman widely known in a democratic country. Kings are remembered longest by their effigies on the coinage. The coinage of a statesman is the phrase which sums up a situation. It was one of the defects of Lord Hartington that he had in him no mint for such coins. Goschen, on the other hand, gave general currency to many. Some of these have long survived him; amongst others the 'political blank cheque' which in 1884 he would not give to Lord Salisbury, the 'splendid isolation' of Great Britain in Europe, the 'gamble with the food of the people' in which, to the amusement of irreverent peers, he hoped the Duke of Devonshire would not take a hand. Perhaps his greatest oratorical triumph was the reply in the Opera House speech to the cry of Justice to Ireland ('Life,' ii, 53).

'Justice to Ireland! . . . When did it dawn upon those who raised the cry that Justice demanded that Home Rule should be given? It is a doctrine we have not heard much from responsible statesmen; till when? We did not hear of that doctrine in November last. Yet Justice is not an intermittent apparition. Justice is not a figure that can be here at some times and absent at others. Justice is not an apparition that can be invoked at the polling booth alone. Expediency may change from time to time . . . but Justice always stands in the same position. . . . Justice has often been described as wearing a bandage over her eyes. But I did not know that her worshippers were to remain blindfold till the bandage was torn off under the pressure of expediency and fear.'

A man who could sound the trumpet-note in this fashion was an invaluable ally in the great struggle out of which the Liberal Unionist party arose. That party is now dead, though it maintains a fiction of existence

in the names and office-rooms of certain Associations. Its work is done, and it is merged in the party which includes all Unionists. But that work could only have been done by the maintenance for a time of organisations which, though Unionist, were not Conservative. Mr Holland thinks that the Duke was wrong in declining office after Lord Randolph Churchill's resignation. But undoubtedly the decision was a sound one. The real problem the Duke had at that time to solve was how to keep Mr Chamberlain and the Unionist Radicals. He would certainly have lost them if he had joined Lord Salisbury. Such changes cannot come in a moment; and in this case, as it turned out, ten years of independent alliance had to precede official union, while another ten years went by before official union passed into party fusion.

The formation of a new party in such a country as ours is one of the most difficult tasks that ever fall even to statesmen of the highest rank. The Liberal Unionist party was very fortunate in the men who formed it, above all, in its leader; but it was also singularly fortunate in the time and immediate cause of its formation. Was it mere hesitation, sluggishness of will and party loyalty that kept Lord Hartington still to the end a member of Mr Gladstone's Cabinet of 1880, though he had offered his resignation in its very first year, and had constant and fundamental differences with the majority of its members throughout its existence? Or was it one of those half-conscious instincts, which are more apt to visit men of his simple, almost rural type than men formed by education and business, that prevented his yielding sooner to Goschen's wish that he should come openly forward as the leader of the Moderate Liberals against Mr Chamberlain, and if necessary against Mr Gladstone? Anyhow, the fortunate fact remains that, for whatever reason, he did hold on. As things turned out, if he had moved in 1884 or 1885 he would have fired his piece before the real enemy came in sight.

The Liberal feeling for Gladstone was such that it was necessary he should do something visibly outrageous before there could be any chance of rousing Liberals against him. Not that Lord Hartington sought or desired such a chance—quite the reverse; but he knew that a separation could not be long delayed, and he must

consciously or unconsciously have felt that, if it was to be made with any effect, it must be made at a favourable moment. That came, of course, with the public surrender to Parnell, which, though not entirely a surprise to Mr Gladstone's colleagues, was totally unexpected and, to say the least, totally undesired by the mass of the party. This gave Hartington the opportunity of his life. He at once seized it, with great reluctance, with no thought of personal ambition, but with the unwavering resolution of the plain, strong man he was; and what a year earlier would have been a mere Whig secession became the organisation of a great political party. His followers felt at once that his character, described long afterwards by Mr Balfour as one of the assets of English public life, was the rock on which their future was to be built. Without him, all resistance to Mr Gladstone's towering personality would crumble to pieces; with him, all the Gladstonian weapons could be successfully faced—the age, authority and eloquence of the leader, the arts and devices of the parliamentary manager, the resolute will, the imperious fascination, the plausible phrases and sincere insincerities of the man.

Even so, the result was long doubtful. An old Liberal Unionist has been heard to relate how some of those who opposed Home Rule were in the habit of holding meetings for consultation while the discussions on the Home Rule Bill were in progress. They met one day when the second reading of the Bill was about to be taken. Lord Hartington was characteristically late in arriving. Discussion began without him; the attitude of Mr Chamberlain and his friends was reported to be uncertain; and the general feeling was against attempting an amendment to the second reading. Those present had just decided on letting it pass and seeing what could be done in Committee, when Lord Hartington came in. He was told, as he took the chair, of the decision that had just been arrived at. 'I am sorry to hear it,' he replied, 'for I have just handed in an amendment for the rejection of the second reading, and I mean to move it, whether anyone supports me or not.' In a moment the atmosphere was changed. What had seemed impossible became a thing which simply had to be done as a matter of duty. And a little later it was done, and, as all the

world knows, successfully done. Such is the instant difference which the presence of a real leader makes in men's capacity, not merely for doing things, but even for thinking it possible that they can be done. '*Possunt quia posse videntur.*'

But, if Lord Hartington was the greatest element in the combination that defeated Mr Gladstone, he was very fortunate in his colleagues. There is no prouder moment in English political history. In the presence of a tremendous issue everything petty and personal seemed to disappear. Sir Henry James refused the Woolsack; Lord Salisbury was eager to surrender the prospective Premiership to the Liberal Unionist leader; Mr Chamberlain abandoned the certainty of succession to Mr Gladstone and risked his whole political future; and Lord Randolph Churchill, to whom justice has less often been done, worked with all his own energy and decision for the conclusion of a close alliance which was certain to diminish his own power in the Cabinet.

The importance of that meteoric figure lasted little more than a political moment, but while it existed it was immense. Lord Randolph's career has been related in the most brilliant of contemporary biographies; and with the bulk of it we have no concern here. But it is fair to recall, whenever the crisis of 1886 is discussed, how great a part Lord Randolph played in forming the alliance which defeated Mr Gladstone. It was he, who in a speech at Manchester suggested the name—no unimportant matter—which Liberals and Conservatives could use in common. The party which that speech helped to create is still what he baptized it, the Unionist party. Half-hearted or heretical as he was about many of the causes for which it has fought and suffered, about the Union itself he never wavered for a moment. To preserve it he was ready to sacrifice all minor things, even, as his son shows, one so dear to him as the pleasure of baiting Mr Gladstone across the table of the House of Commons, if by that or any other means he could make sure of gaining Lord Hartington. From the first he was set on forming a coalition; and the first sacrifice he offered on the altar of his desire was himself. Before the 1885 election was completed he was urging Lord Salisbury to offer places in the Cabinet to Lord Hartington, Goschen and Lord

Rosebery, adding, 'You will never get Whig support as long as I am in the Government; and Whig support you must have.' Above all it was an urgent necessity that an understanding should be arrived at with Lord Hartington.

No two statesmen could be more entirely unlike than he and Lord Randolph. Except that they were both the sons of dukes and both interested in racing, they had nothing in common. Lord Hartington was, as we have seen, an aristocrat of the aristocrats, with the temperament of his order, slow, cautious, dignified, unemotional, attached to established things and traditional modes of action. The possession of a ducal coronet for two hundred years has not enabled the Churchills to produce a single notable man of the aristocratic type; and none was ever less of that type than Lord Randolph. Impetuous, excitable, intemperate of speech and action, as mischievous and impudent as a street-boy, he had been from the first the 'Gavroche' of English politics. Then and afterwards he was conscious of the inevitable opposition of type in Lord Hartington. But in the cause of the Union he was determined to overcome it. So he began in January 1886 by writing to Lord Hartington to apologise for a phrase used about him in a speech. This paved the way for further action, as soon as Mr Gladstone had taken office as the head of an avowedly Home Rule Ministry; and before long he was on sufficiently friendly terms with Lord Hartington to be able to assist in urging him to take the first place in moving the rejection of Mr Gladstone's Bill. But before getting so far as that, he had had to overcome difficulties with his own leader. Lord Salisbury was not at first hopeful about coalition, and thought he himself was the obstacle. 'I believe' (he said) 'that the G.O.M., if he were driven to so frightful a dilemma, would rather work with me than with you, but that with Hartington it is the reverse.'

That difficulty was surmounted by April 14, when Lord Hartington appeared with Lord Salisbury on the platform at Covent Garden. But one still more formidable remained. No one in 1886 occupied such a delicate position as Mr Chamberlain. He had been the admitted leader of the Radicals from 1880 to 1885 and the undisguised enemy of Lord Hartington and the Whigs. The bulk of the Radicals had followed Mr Glad-

stone. He could not stand alone; could he join Lord Hartington? Could he even conceive the possibility of joining Lord Salisbury? Nothing illustrates so well the strength of the convictions that saved the Union as the fact that both these apparently impossible combinations were accomplished, the one in a few weeks, the other in a few months. It was the crisis of Mr Chamberlain's life; and his decision gave the colour to the rest of his political career. Directly he heard rumours of Mr Gladstone's intentions, he declared that 'Radicals as well as Whigs' were 'determined that the integrity of the Empire should be a reality and not an empty phrase.' That was on December 17, 1885. A fortnight later he met Lord Hartington at Devonshire House to concert a demand for explanations from Mr Gladstone. Soon afterwards he entered Mr Gladstone's Cabinet, but the opposition both of temperament and of conviction made this no more than an episode; and, before the Bill was introduced, he had not only resigned, but had taken the first step to working with Lord Hartington against Mr Gladstone. On April 7 he went again to Devonshire House; and Lord Hartington wrote to Goschen, 'Things did not look very smooth at first, but the interview ended amicably.' On the 8th Mr Gladstone introduced the Bill; on the 9th Lord Hartington made his first attack upon it, and Mr Chamberlain wrote to him, 'It was the finest [speech] you have ever made and was sustained throughout on the highest level.'

From that moment, though all was not yet to be plain sailing, the Liberal Unionist ship was launched. The party association was formed in May, and Mr Chamberlain joined it in August. By that time the General Election was won, and Mr Gladstone was no longer Prime Minister. But the victory had only been won by all shades of Unionist feeling working together. Not only Whigs and Radicals, but Conservatives and Radicals, Lord Salisbury and Mr Chamberlain, had to unite. In this difficult business it is fair to note that Lord Randolph Churchill was again active and indeed all-important. He alone of Conservatives was a personal friend of Mr Chamberlain; he alone was in a position to bring Lord Salisbury and Mr Chamberlain together. And this, by April, he had succeeded in doing, choosing,

perhaps with some private sense of humour, the Turf Club for the scene of the meeting, as a place where neither was likely to feel too much at home! He, more than anyone, as the fighting man of the party, was able with effect to persuade Conservatives to support Liberal Unionists in the constituencies; and at Birmingham he sealed the Chamberlain alliance by his decisive intervention, for which he was afterwards to suffer in person. After the Ministry had been formed, and Lord Hartington had wisely decided against the Whigs taking office, Lord Randolph kept in touch during his six months of leadership, not only with Lord Hartington, whom he implored to give up a projected Indian visit and stay in England, and with Goschen, for whom a week or two before his own resignation he was urging Lord Salisbury to find a seat, but also with Mr Chamberlain. By the time he fell, the critical first year of the Unionist Coalition was over; and it was greatly due to him that that coalition was strong enough to bear the shock of his disappearance. After that it had no very serious difficulties to meet, grew steadily in unity and in strength, and for twenty-five years delivered the United Kingdom from any danger of disruption. The story of its origin is ancient history now, as political memories go; but it is one of which the whole nation may be proud. Even the work it did has now begun to pass into history. What will history's judgment on it be?

Foresight is perhaps the greatest quality of statesmen; but it is their misfortune that history is commonly inclined to demand it of them in impossible measure. Men are judged to have succeeded or failed, not in the light of the facts they had before them, but in the light of those that lie open before the historian. In that light probably the great actors in the victorious struggle of 1886 will come ultimately to be judged. Much has happened already to justify them; much more may happen in the near future. For instance, if it turns out that a struggle for national existence lies before us, and if we emerge victorious from that struggle, history will certainly say that England owed her preservation largely to those who for twenty years pursued a policy of unification and not of disruption; who transformed the poor and discontented Ireland of 1886 into the prosperous and hope-

ful Ireland of 1911; who may be said to have almost discovered the idea of the British Empire as a thing conscious of itself; and who so conducted our foreign policy as to remove all avoidable causes of quarrel with foreign nations, and to substitute for hazardous isolation the understandings necessary for the preservation of European peace.

Again, when history comes to record the final destruction of the old parliamentary system in England, it will probably find that, while parliamentary institutions had been for some time undergoing a process of decay, the year 1911 was the fatal year which made recovery impossible; and that, but for the Unionist combination, a measure resembling the Parliament Act might well have been passed much earlier. If so, it will not be the least of the claims to remembrance of Lord Hartington and his allies that they deferred the revolution for some ten or twenty valuable years.

But these, and others that could easily be suggested, are speculations on what might have happened if the Unionist alliance had failed. The urgent reality of to-day is that we are now once more face to face with a renewal of the original struggle of 1886. The Home Rulers have apparently learnt nothing and forgotten everything. Again, it seems, and once more as the only means of securing a party majority in Parliament, we are to be offered as the solution of the Irish question a scheme which may be broadly said to have never received on its own merits the support of any appreciable proportion of the English or Scottish electorate. The forthcoming plan has not, it is true, been disclosed except in the vaguest outlines, but these are sufficient to show that now, as in 1886, it is a combination of irreconcilable views, a piece of political patchwork made up of the incongruous colours of the various sections that have somehow to be got into one lobby in its favour. The arguments which then successfully appealed against it to the central reason of the nation ought still to prove irresistible; and those who wish to be reminded of them will find them well set forth in these two biographies.

The study of these works will, moreover, enable Unionists to avoid one mistake into which defenders of the Union have sometimes fallen. They will not be tempted

to deny the essential sincerity of Mr Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule. Lord Hartington never did so for a moment. No doubt all human motives are mixed things; and love of power, self-confidence and self-will played a greater part than Mr Gladstone knew in leading him towards the pit into which he fell. And no doubt, as Lord Hartington felt, it was not a perfectly honourable course for a leader to go into a General Election with something like Home Rule in his mind, without giving the electors any inkling of the use to which their confidence might be put if he gained it. But Mr Gladstone would have replied that he could not say what it would be right to do till he knew with what voice the new Irish constituencies were going to speak. That was one of the points on which he and Lord Hartington most definitely differed. To Mr Gladstone's fiery and imaginative nature, Liberty was a kind of goddess whose worship was equally applicable everywhere, whose proper rites were free institutions of the English pattern, and whose voice, when it spoke through these holy channels, it was a kind of impiety to resist. To a plain man like Lord Hartington liberty was merely a sound general principle, the best on which to manage political affairs wherever possible, but entirely subject in its application to considerations of justice and expediency. For him, if Home Rule for Ireland was certain to prove a disaster both to Ireland and England, the fact that eighty Irish members wanted it was one that could not affect his attitude in the slightest degree. To Mr Gladstone, on the other hand, it was a fact of almost sacred significance and authority. His own mind, of its own accord and quite sincerely, had long been moving in the same direction; and of this his more intimate colleagues were aware. But he could not be got to see that, sincere as he was in his convictions, his attitude in the face of the party and the nation was, in fact, one of insincerity. His object, whether he was conscious of it or not, was really to lead his party blindfold across to the Home Rule side of the dividing river, and not to let them know it till the bridge behind them was broken down. And he would probably have succeeded if he had not had to deal with a man so resolute and so unamenable to management by phrases as Lord Hartington.

The best chapter perhaps, certainly the most brilliant, in Mr Holland's book is that entitled 'Mr Gladstone and Lord Hartington.' It is a very fine and penetrating study of two opposing temperaments set by the chances of life in the closest relations for some twenty crowded years. The essential points in the contrast are, of course, obvious; but Mr Holland works it out in interesting detail. As he says, Hartington resembled in some respects the man most unlike Gladstone in all the world, the great Duke of Wellington, to whose distinctive title of 'the Duke' he ultimately succeeded. He had what Napoleon called the first quality in a general, the 'cool head which receives just impressions of things, which is never confused, nor allows itself to be dazzled or intoxicated by good or bad news.' Mr Gladstone's mind, on the other hand, was highly susceptible of all forms of excitement.

'His opinions on some subjects of great moment' (wrote Lord Selborne) 'were in a constant process of flux and decomposition; and yet he was impatient of opposition to whatever might be the attitude of his mind for the time being. There was in his thoughts about many things, and in his language, with all his glitter, an involution and indistinctness which made his footing less secure than it seemed and his guidance less safe. . . . It was not his habit to look all round a question or to take in with patience both sides of an argument; when not a partisan he was generally an antagonist.' ('Life,' i, 285.)

In fact, as Mr Holland well puts it, his mind was, for good and for evil, 'like a river in perpetual change and motion.' And he strikingly illustrates the intellectual and moral contrast between the two men by saying:

'If Hartington's soul had been embodied in a Roman noble of the time of the Antonines, it is inconceivable that he should have become a Christian; if Gladstone had been then incarnate he could hardly have escaped from that mighty stream of tendency' (ib. i, 284).

This fluidity of mind was never more conspicuous than in his attitude towards the Irish question. Especially between July 1885 and July 1886, the marvellous compound of seeming incompatibles, which was Gladstone, is seen working at full power. There is the fiery genius so abundantly susceptible to an idea, so absolutely in-

accessible to the influence either of facts or of arguments; and there is also the lower side of the man, defined by Mr Holland as the 'circumspect, calculating Lowland Scot,' whose tactical skill so very nearly managed to carry his whole party with him into a policy which almost all would have repudiated with indignation six months before.

Already in 1883 we find Hartington writing to Granville, 'I cannot imagine what you consider Mr Gladstone's weighty arguments. They seem to me to be dreams.' And that feeling increased every year and every month till the actual breach occurred. The tension was at its greatest in the summer and autumn of 1885. Mr Gladstone talked vaguely of the danger from the Tories, and of the hopefulness of the analogies of Austria-Hungary and Sweden and Norway. Naturally this did not reassure Hartington, who replied frankly:

'Whether I desire that such unity [of the Liberal party] should be secured must depend on what the party is likely to do, if in a majority after the election. . . . The fear of what the Tories may do on their responsibility would be no justification to me for doing what I disapprove of on my own.' ('Life,' ii, 84.)

The election of 1885 was followed by the newspaper revelation of Mr Gladstone's conversion to Home Rule. To Hartington's request for explanations, Mr Gladstone replied that he had 'more or less of opinions and ideas, but no intentions.' . . . 'My earnest recommendation to everybody is not to commit himself.' But Lord Hartington pointedly insisted that this was an impossible position. Mr Gladstone, he says, might assert that he had no intentions and no desire of acting at present; but the fact that he had allowed his conversion to Home Rule to become known was itself 'action of enormous importance,' in the face of which those who differed from him could not refrain from committing themselves.

When Parliament met and Mr Gladstone returned to office, the tactical method he adopted in forming a Cabinet was the diplomatic fiction that his policy was the examination 'whether it is practicable to comply with' the Irish desire for a 'legislative body to sit in Dublin.' This was an ingenious way of enabling the

intellect, as Mr Holland says, to furnish at each stage reasons to the will of those who desired, before all things, not to be forced to the discomfort of breaking with Mr Gladstone. Those who joined his Cabinet could say that they were not committed to a Bill but only to examination of the demand; and those who supported them in the House could argue that, even if a Bill followed, they could vote against its second reading, or, if that passed, at least amend it in Committee; and so on to the disastrous end of all such compliances. For the ordinary member of parliament, for whom politics mean a desire to be in the House and a vague belief in his party and his leader, this gently-inclined plane of surrender was certain to prove, and did prove, irresistibly easy. But Lord Hartington was not a man of that type, and he at once refused Mr Gladstone's invitation, saying frankly with his remorseless good sense, 'I am unable to attach great importance to a distinction between examination and the actual conception and announcement of a plan.' The breach was complete, and the two men never acted together again.

It was worth while, perhaps, to trace the stages which preceded the final division, not only for their illustration of two interesting characters, but because the methods which Mr Gladstone employed in 1885 and 1886 are now again being employed by inferior artists. The Liberal party, and to some extent the country, have been committed to Home Rule without ever receiving a word of definite explanation as to what Home Rule means. Now as then the Irish leaders are speaking with one voice in England and another in Ireland. Now as then, the plan to be adopted is one of which the lines have been determined not by the seriously considered and permanent interests either of Ireland or of England, but by the temporary exigencies of a party coalition in the House of Commons. Now, as then, Ireland is habitually spoken of as a single unit, which it has never been; and the fact that the more prosperous, intelligent and virile of the two Irelands is profoundly hostile to any trifling with the Union is always passed over in silence. All these things are the same. But there are differences between 1911 and 1886. Some of them are of no more fortunate omen for the cause of Home Rule than the resemblances

we have noted. The most conspicuous is that in 1886 the English Home Rulers were led by a man of genius, eloquence, fervent faith, and supreme personal attraction, and the Irish by a man without attraction indeed, but with a will hard as adamant and a heart cold as stone. To-day the 'faith unfaithful' which fired Mr Gladstone is no longer here to move the mountains of English and Scottish indifference and distrust; nor is Parnell here to fill coward hearts with terror as at the portent of a man of destiny.

It is true that, with Gladstone and Parnell, their greatest opponents have also disappeared. But, as the resistance to Home Rule was founded, not (like the agitation in its favour) on appeals to party feeling, sentiment or fear which can never be used again as they were by Gladstone and Parnell, but on solid argument, reason, and the unanswerable and unaltered facts of the case, it ought not to suffer so much from the loss of its great spokesmen. What they said then can and must be said with equal force now. If the decay of Parliament has proceeded apace since 1886, if the independence of one House has been destroyed by violence acting in the guise of law, and that of the other reduced to such a shadow that, as we have lately seen, it can be made to pass five hundred amendments to a Bill solely at the dictation of a Minister and without one syllable of discussion, yet we refuse to believe that either the mind or the conscience of the nation will submit to be gagged. And, until they are, the voice of reason will still have a great part to play. We must still ask the questions that Lord Hartington asked in 1886; and, if again the only answer is silence or evasion, it will surely be followed by the same result. When we are told that the unity of the United Kingdom will not be affected by the Bill, we must reply, as Lord Hartington replied, by asking, 'What is the United Kingdom? It is the creation of a particular Act, the Act of Union,' which you denounce and desire to undo. When we are told that the supreme authority will still remain vested in the Imperial Government and Parliament, we must again reply with him:

'We shall be under one Sovereign, but the question is, Shall we be under one sovereign power? The sovereign power is the power of the Imperial Parliament. Will the power of the

Imperial Parliament remain sovereign in Ireland? Nominally it will remain; will it be real?'

If we are asked to trust the assurances lately given by Irish leaders, we shall point, as Lord Hartington did, to their language elsewhere, and believe that a man is more likely to utter his real sentiments when speaking to his friends than when he is engaged in transacting a bargain with opponents. If we are told that Ireland is a nation, that the prayer for Home Rule is a prayer to one free people by another that claims to be free, that the establishment of an Irish Parliament will only affect Ireland, we must appeal again to the inexorable facts of history and of geography, and say, as Lord Hartington said, that to ignore them is to trifle with the question, and is, in fact, simply 'an attempt to escape by specious phrases from the realities of the position.'

Many such attempts will be made in the year 1912. But if they are met in the spirit of courage, common sense and remorseless insistence upon the facts which animated Lord Hartington and Mr Goschen, the phrases of to-day will fail as did those of Mr Gladstone, while the realities of the situation will come out into the light, and will be seen to present an Ireland giving no excuse for the despair so common in 1886, an Ulster no less determined to remain in the Union, the distance across the sea to Ireland no greater and that to Canada no less than they were in 1886, the problem of distinguishing Irish from Imperial affairs no less insoluble, the supposed analogies of Austria-Hungary and Sweden and Norway turned into the most damaging proof that the tendency of Home Rule is not one towards union, either of hearts or of hands, but one towards complete and final separation. The country will then know how to judge a Ministry which closes its eyes to such realities as these, and opens them only to the ignoble reality of its own Ministerial position of daily and hourly dependence upon the votes of Mr Redmond and his followers.

Art. 13.—HOME RULE FINANCE.

1. *Report from the Select Committee on the Taxation of Ireland, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.* 1864; H.C. 513. 1865; H.C. 330.
2. *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners to enquire into the Financial Relations between Great Britain and Ireland, with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.* 1895; Cd 7720. 1896; Cd 8262.
3. *Revenue and Expenditure* (England, Scotland and Ireland). 1911; H.C. 220.
4. *Imperial Revenue (Collection and Expenditure; Great Britain and Ireland).* 1911; H.C. 221.

And other papers.

IN calculating the effect which Home Rule will have upon the financial and constitutional relations of Great Britain and Ireland, the historical aspects of the question must not be left out of consideration. They will have a practical effect upon the attitude which Irishmen, whether Unionist or Nationalist, will assume towards Great Britain, should a measure of Home Rule pass into law. It is impossible, however, within the limits of an article such as this to deal with them fully. In Ireland the traditions of the ruinous financial and commercial restrictions imposed by the English mercantile policy in the eighteenth century are still vivid. It is not forgotten that the successful struggle for parliamentary freedom in that century originated in and centred round the struggle for freedom from any English control over Irish finance and commerce. Those who know the Irish temperament are well aware that any financial or commercial restraints which may be imposed upon an Irish parliament by any Home Rule measure will become the point of constitutional attack upon British supremacy; and that the coming generation of Irishmen, whether they belong to those classes which now adhere to the Union or are drawn from those which support Home Rule, will never rest until the last vestige of restraint is removed. No protestations in parliament, no undertakings on the part of Nationalist leaders that they will not question the supremacy of the British parliament, no restrictions contained in any Home Rule Act, will have

the least effect in preventing an Irish revolt against any provisions designed to restrict the complete commercial and financial independence of Ireland. 'No man has a right to fix a boundary to the march of a nation.' The history of 1782 will sooner or later repeat itself. There is no practicable alternative between the Union and Repeal. It is necessary to remember this when we are considering how far any financial proposals for a Home Rule constitution are likely to work out successfully, when an Irish Parliament with an Irish Executive controlled only by it governs Ireland.

Finance cannot be isolated. The claims made by the Nationalists in reference to the finance of Home Rule depend to a very great extent upon the history of Irish constitutional relations with Great Britain, and not merely upon modern tables of revenue and expenditure. Ireland achieved financial and legislative independence in 1782. When Grattan's parliament commenced its career, the net revenue of Ireland was 1,106,500*l.*, and the expenditure about 1,313,700*l.* The debt charges were 120,800*l.*; over 600,000*l.* was contributed to the army and navy; the civil government charges were 583,000*l.* The debt, funded and unfunded, which had been incurred during the Seven Years' War and the War of American Independence amounted to 1,917,000*l.* Additional taxes were imposed in 1785; and revenue and expenditure balanced one another in the year 1792. The debt then stood at 1,586,000*l.* The effects, however, of the great French war and the Rebellion of 1798 were financially disastrous; and the annual deficits rose rapidly from 400,000*l.* in 1793 to 3,837,000*l.* in 1800. At the beginning of 1801 the debt stood at 28,541,157*l.*; and the country was verging on bankruptcy.*

Meanwhile, the questions of inter-insular trade and defence had become dominant. An independent Ireland could withhold all military assistance. An independent Ireland could also create a protective tariff and bar out English goods from the Irish market. England depended to a great extent in time of war on food-supplies drawn from Ireland. It was essential to come to an arrangement. Pitt accordingly proposed in 1785 that there should be

* 'Financial Relations Report,' i, 322-324.

complete freedom of trade between England and Ireland, and that there should be a fixed contribution made by Ireland from her hereditary revenue—the excise and customs duties—for the purposes of the defence of the Empire in time of peace; while in time of war Ireland was to contribute voluntarily such further aids as extraordinary emergencies might require. The Irish House of Commons passed resolutions accepting these proposals, but in the British parliament they were violently opposed. The jealousy of the English manufacturers was aroused; and modifications were introduced that would have subjected Irish trade to English domination. The result was that, when the resolutions came back to the Irish parliament for ratification, they were at once rejected. Irish public opinion indignantly reprobated them as an attempt to re-establish the ascendancy of the British parliament over Irish commerce, and to deprive the Irish parliament of its legislative independence.

This episode of 1785 formed the first of the great differences between the British and Irish parliaments, and unquestionably led to the determination of the British ministry to bring about the Union. The history of the commercial propositions should be read again at this crisis when it is proposed to break up the Union. Mr Redmond, in his speeches in England and articles in English papers and magazines, has repeatedly stated that 'Ireland wants an Irish parliament with an executive responsible to it charged with the management of purely Irish affairs (land, education, local government, transit, labour, industries, taxation for local purposes, law and justice, police, etc.), leaving to the Imperial parliament the management just as at present of all Imperial affairs—army, navy, foreign relations, customs, Imperial taxation, matters pertaining to the Crown, the Colonies, and all other questions which are Imperial and not local in their nature.*' In Ireland, however, the Nationalist voice, in spite of the efforts of the parliamentarians to stifle it, is speaking out louder and louder; and Nationalist pens are asserting more and more strongly every day that Home Rule, without control by the Irish parliament of

* See e.g. 'McClure's Magazine,' Oct. 1910; 'T. P.'s Magazine,' Feb. 1911; and speech on the Address, 1911 (Parl. Debates, 1911, xxi, 1102).

Irish customs, excise, trade and commerce, will not be worth having, and will be rejected as ignominiously as was the Councils Bill by Nationalist Ireland.

The Seventh Article of the Act of Union provided that Ireland should contribute to Imperial expenditure in the proportion of two to fifteen; in other words, that out of every 100% Ireland should contribute about 12% and Great Britain about 88%. These proportions were stated by Pitt and Castlereagh to be based upon the taxable capacities of the two kingdoms. It is also declared that these contributions should be made 'to the expenditure of the United Kingdom.' Under the Act these proportions were subject to revision until the Exchequers should be amalgamated, when contribution by fixed proportion was to cease. Provision was made for parliament in the future declaring that the expenditure of the United Kingdom should be defrayed 'indiscriminately' by equal taxes 'imposed on the like articles in both countries, subject only to such abatements in Ireland and in Scotland as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand'; and that 'from the period of such declaration it should no longer be necessary to regulate the contribution of the two countries towards the future expenditure of the United Kingdom according to any specific proportion.' The Act of Union clearly treated all expenditure of the United Kingdom, no matter where spent, as 'Imperial' or 'common' expenditure.

The continuance of the Napoleonic wars soon demonstrated that the proportion of contribution fixed for Ireland under the Act of Union was more than she could bear in time of stress. The Irish deficit in the year 1816 was 10,458,000%,* and the actual amount of the Funded Debt of Ireland on February 1, 1817 was 130,561,000%† Irish financial authorities contend that a large portion of this debt was unduly debited to Ireland; but it is clear that, even if very large deductions were to be made from the total debt, yet, unless Great Britain had taken over the liability, Ireland would have been bankrupt. The debts of Ireland and Great Britain were accordingly

* Sir E. Hamilton's Memorandum, Financial Relations Report, I, 334, 335.

† Report of Select Committee on Taxation of Ireland (1864; H.C. 513); Evid. p. 21 p. No. 12, p. 396.

consolidated in the year 1817.* The three kingdoms then became finally bound together in fiscal union. It is important to consider what has been since 1817 the fiscal relation of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Act of 1817 provided (1) that after January 5, 1817, all the revenues which before that date formed part of the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain and of Ireland respectively should form one general fund, to be called the Consolidated Fund of Great Britain and Ireland; (2) that, whether any part of it was in the Exchequer of Great Britain or that of Ireland, it should be applied indiscriminately in the first place to the payment of the whole of the interest of the National Debts of Great Britain and Ireland and their Sinking Funds as one Consolidated National Debt and Sinking Fund; in the second place it should in like manner be applied in paying the salaries and charges on the Civil List in Great Britain and Ireland; in the third place it should in like manner be applied in payment of any charges on either of the Consolidated Funds created by any Act of Parliament in force before January 5, 1817; and, lastly, after payment of all these charges the said Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom should be in like manner indiscriminately applied to the service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland or any part thereof as shall be directed by Parliament.

The constitutional fiscal relation of the three kingdoms created by the Act of Union, reasserted by resolutions of the House of Commons in 1816 preliminary to the amalgamation of the Exchequers, and re-enacted in terms by the Act of 1817, is that there should be a common system of indiscriminate taxation, and that, if that system of taxation pressed with undue severity upon Scotland or Ireland, they should be entitled 'to such particular exemptions and abatements as circumstances may appear from time to time to demand.'

'The clear intention of the framers of the Act of Union was that, so far as related to taxation or the raising of revenue, Ireland should (whether contributing, as she did up to 1817, according to a certain ratio, or, as subsequently, by way of indiscriminate taxation subject to exemptions), have a distinct

* 56 George III, cap. 98.

position and separate consideration. But it was their equally clear intention that all expenditure, including no less that upon civil government in Ireland than that upon the Army and Navy, should be common or Imperial. It was never intended that the ratio of contribution or the extent of the exemptions and abatements (as the case might be) should be affected by consideration of the relative cost of administration in each of the three kingdoms. While legislative and fiscal union of the three kingdoms remains, this way of treating the matter must hold good.*

The theory of the Imperial finance of the three kingdoms when the Exchequers were amalgamated was simple. Each country was to contribute by 'equal taxes' to the common Exchequer. 'Equal taxes' were to be those which would press upon each country fairly, in accordance with its relative ability. From the common Exchequer, fed by these equal taxes, were to be paid out, without consideration of anything but necessity and without differentiation on the ground of the locality of the expenditure or the relative contribution to the common chest of England, Scotland or Ireland, such moneys as were required for the public services, civil, naval or military. One portion of the United Kingdom may and does from time to time make heavier demands upon the common chest than another. In some respects England gets proportionately more, as in cash outlay in the dockyards, arsenals and other public services; in other respects Ireland gets proportionately more, as in the case of old age pensions; but it is all 'common' expenditure, paid out under authority of the United Parliament, and constitutionally 'indiscriminate.' To anyone who reads the Union debates or studies the Union Statutes, it is perfectly clear that the framers of the Act of Union never contemplated that expenditure of revenue in any one of the three kingdoms was to be measured by the proportion of the contribution of such kingdom to the common exchequer; or that any such expenditure should be considered as a 'set-off' to any disproportionate burden which the taxes imposed by Parliament might from time to time cast upon either Scotland or Ireland as contrasted with England.

* Mr Childers' draft Report. Financial Relations Report, iii, 191.

It was not until the year 1888 that the classification of expenditure began, which now appears annually in the returns of the revenue and expenditure of the three kingdoms, and has given occasion for many misunderstandings in Home Rule discussions. It was then adopted for the purpose of creating an empirical basis, upon which grants in aid of local taxation should be made from the Exchequer to each of the three kingdoms. The Treasury Returns now divide public expenditure into four classes: (a) 'Imperial' or 'Common' services; (b) English services; (c) Scottish services; and (d) Irish services; and, having treated the three latter as local services and having charged the expenditure on them against each of the three countries, they estimate the balance left in each instance as the contribution of each to the 'Imperial or Common Expenditure.' This fourfold division is absolutely arbitrary and has no sanction from any Act of Parliament. It is directly opposed to the constitutional theory of finance under the Act of Union and the Act for Consolidating the Exchequers; but its system of classification was adopted to a large extent by Mr Gladstone in his financial proposals for Home Rule in 1893. The details of the division were never discussed in Parliament or disclosed when the proportions in which grants in aid should be made—viz. 80 per cent. to England, 11 per cent. to Scotland, and 9 per cent. to Ireland—were fixed. This segregation of inter-insular finance, unconstitutional as it is, was used as the ground of the 'set-off' argument in reply to Ireland's case for special consideration in taxation after the Financial Relations Report of 1896; and it is now made the basis of the argument that England should 'cut her loss,' and Ireland be sent adrift because the fiscal arrangements under the Union are beginning to tell in her favour.

After the amalgamation of the Exchequers, accounts were returned regularly to Parliament during half a century, showing the application of the revenues of Ireland which were each year transferred to the Exchequer of Great Britain after the Irish services had been provided for. It appears from these returns that, even at the period when local expenditure in Ireland was comparatively trivial and a large amount of revenue was remitted from Ireland to England, Great Britain had

annually to make good some millions of money which would have been chargeable against Ireland for interest on the Irish National Debt as it stood in 1817, had the Irish debt not been consolidated with the British. These returns are important in the present controversy, for one of the chief arguments now put forward in support of the demand that a large subvention should be made by Great Britain to Ireland is based upon a calculation that between 1820 and the present time Ireland has made a contribution to Great Britain of between 325,000,000*l.* and 400,000,000*l.*, and that she is accordingly entitled to heavy restitution. This argument is based on the 'hypothetical calculations' made in the Financial Relations Report, which attempt to estimate the 'contributed' revenue of each kingdom.* It was formulated by Lord McDonnell in an address at Belfast on Feb. 23, 1911:

'We have Treasury figures showing the contributions paid by Ireland to the Imperial Exchequer in 1820 and for the last year of each subsequent decadal period to 1900. We have also the Treasury yearly figures from 1900 up to date. Multiplying the decadal figures except the last by ten, and allowing for the contributions made in 1817-19 and from 1900 up to date, I make the total of Ireland's contributions to Great Britain to be 325,000,000*l.* That is, with substantial correctness, the amount of the "tribute" which Ireland has paid to Great Britain during the last ninety-three years.'

These figures are based on the Pease Returns of Revenue and Expenditure originated in 1894.† But a Treasury memorandum, which accompanied the Report,‡ makes an important reservation.

'For the purposes of the return the two islands must be regarded as a co-partnership possessing a single banking account, drafts on which are applicable to the individual expenditure of the two partners as well as to the requirements of the partnership. . . . The Treasury is only required to class the expenditure as joint or separate. . . . The lapse of time and the imperfection of the record render it difficult to arrive with confidence at even approximate results. . . . The labour of analysis and the risk of error would have both greatly in-

* Sir E. Hamilton's Memorandum, Fin. Rel. Report, i, 342.

† 1894, c. 313.

‡ See Financial Relations Report, vol. i, App. III, p. 392.

creased if it had been desired to treat England and Scotland separately as was done for later years. In fact, owing to the absence of published figures for Scotland apart from England, the work would have been almost impossible.'

The basis accordingly upon which the return of expenditure was required and is made departed from the terms of the Act of Union, under which all national expenditure is 'indiscriminate,' common and Imperial. It classifies the expenditure for 'local services' in Great Britain and in Ireland as if distinct from expenditure for 'Imperial services,' and in doing so it closely follows the definition of Imperial services contained in the Home Rule Bill of 1893. The services termed 'Imperial services' in the Return include many services in addition to Civil List, National Debt, and the Army and Navy. Confessedly the calculations are to a very great extent speculative and arbitrary; but, as Home Rule advocates base their case largely upon them, it is necessary to consider alongside of this Return the annual accounts which were furnished in compliance with the Acts for the Amalgamation of the Exchequers,* showing the dealings with the funds remitted from the Irish Exchequer to the Exchequer in England. These accounts are available for more than forty years from the year 1817.

The contention that Ireland has paid since 1817 a tribute in the nature of 'blood money' to Great Britain, and has been 'robbed' to the amount of 400,000,000*l.* during the last hundred years is based upon the assumptions (a) that Ireland started debt-free in 1817, when the Exchequers were amalgamated; (b) that Ireland should not have been required to contribute to the Civil List, Army, Navy or National Debt services; (c) that she should not have been taxed for anything but her internal services; while it is forgotten that during the greater portion of the period the economic doctrine of *laissez faire* prevailed, and that no contributions were made from the Exchequer to England, Scotland or Ireland for any other services than Civil List, National Debt, defence, foreign affairs, and the administration of justice; that subventions to local rates and other expensive demands of modern social ameliorative legislation were unknown;

* 56 Geo. III, c. 98; 57 Geo. III, c. 48.

and that the vast sums now voted for education in the United Kingdom are the growth of recent years.

The annual returns of the Public Debt, Revenue and Expenditure of Ireland to the House of Commons contained elaborate tables giving an account of the expenditure of Ireland from Jan. 5, 1817, distinguishing (so far as possible) the payments for the Army, Navy, Ordnance and miscellaneous services, the charges on the Consolidated Fund, advances for public works, employment, etc., also the annual charge for the Consolidated Debt of Ireland as it stood on Jan. 5, 1817, showing the total aggregate charge, the total payments into the Exchequer, and the amount required from the British Exchequer each year to make good the aggregate charge.* These returns show that Ireland contributed for the military services an average sum of about 925,000*l.* annually from 1817 to 1849; that the annual charge for interest on the 130,561,000*l.* of Funded Debt of Ireland, as it stood in 1817, continued at 6,000,000*l.* down to 1821, after which it fell gradually to 4,176,000*l.* in 1844; and that the British Exchequer had to provide sums varying from 7,000,000*l.* to 2,500,000*l.* annually 'to make good the total annual charge for Ireland.' The amount so advanced from 1817 to 1857 exceeded 141,000,000*l.*

The policy pursued after the amalgamation of the Exchequers had for its object the placing of Great Britain and Ireland on the same footing in regard to all matters of commerce and taxation; but Ireland was undoubtedly hit comparatively hard by the method pursued. According to Sir D. Barbour, 'The assimilation of the systems of taxation in the two countries may be said to have been carried out by abolishing the taxes which were in force in Great Britain but not in Ireland, and raising the rates of duty in Ireland in the case of taxes which were levied at lower rates than those which prevailed in Great Britain.'† Under the new system a few articles were selected for taxation; the selected articles happened to be largely consumed in Ireland; and, when an increase was required, the number of taxable articles was not increased, but the taxes on the

* See e.g. H.C. 1847, No. 192; 1849, Nos. 423, 520. See these accounts set out in 'Thom's Directory,' 1850, p. 174; 1859, p. 582.

† Report, Financial Relations Commission, p. 117.

few articles already taxed were raised. Ireland has a much more substantial claim to consideration on account of this method of taxation than on account of the war loans raised before 1817 and the debt which accumulated during that period, but was taken over and consolidated with the British debt.

Between 1817 and the Great Famine, a sum of 22,000,000*l.* per annum was taken off the taxation of Great Britain. In the same period the taxation of Ireland was increased by a quarter of a million. The taxes retained were the great Irish taxes. The tea tax was equalised, that is to say, reduced in Great Britain and raised in Ireland. In 1819 the tobacco tax was equalised. The spirit duties were gradually raised in Ireland. Notwithstanding this, the average Irishman paid between 1816 and 1853 only between one-fifth and one-fourth as much in taxes as the average inhabitant of Great Britain; and in no decennial period between 1820 and 1860 did the true revenue of Ireland exceed 5,500,000*l.*

The closing years of the first half century after the Union were disastrous to Ireland. But these disasters were due to economic, not to political causes. The abolition of the English Corn Laws and the introduction of the Free Trade policy rapidly destroyed the Irish export trade in cereals; while the introduction of steam-power soon neutralised the value of her proximity. But this was in no sense due to the Union. Once England threw her ports open to the world, the result would have been the same, Union or no Union. Ireland was blasted by the famine and the epidemics which followed on it. Her gentry and peasantry were alike impoverished. Yet Gladstone chose this moment to deal her, in the name of financial equality, a blow from which she has never fully recovered, and which left a long legacy of national ill-will and economic suffering behind it. In 1853, although he had a large surplus in the Exchequer, he suddenly increased the taxation of Ireland by 40 per cent., imposing the income tax, raising the spirit duties, and introducing the succession duties. He thus increased the taxation of Ireland by about 2,250,000*l.* The era of Whig finance began, based on the idea that identity of imposts meant equality of taxation; the Act of Union was disregarded; and, under the system of *laissez faire*, famine-stricken and

highly-taxed Ireland was left to drift along upon the stream of State neglect.

The discontent engendered in Ireland by the Gladstonian budget and the policy it inaugurated were main factors in bringing about the movements which resulted in the Home Rule agitation. The country was depleted of capital; and the rigid application of the doctrines of the Manchester School, which forbade State assistance or encouragement for agricultural or industrial purposes, and introduced into the relation of landlord and tenant the practice of the Mart and Stock Exchange, quickly brought Ireland into a condition of agrarian and political disturbance. This policy negated the principles which underlie the Act of Union. The policy which, under modern conditions, carries out the principles of the Act of Union is the Unionist constructive policy, begun during the Chief Secretaryship of Mr A. J. Balfour. In the course of twenty years it has brought increasing prosperity to Ireland, and equipped her more and more to bear her reasonable share of Imperial expenditure.

The grievance of Ireland is not constitutional; it is economic. Both her constitutional and her equitable rights are exceptionally strong. Her representatives have only to agree in presenting her case, and she can and does, through her constitutional position, secure attention to her financial claims; but, if she forfeits her constitutional right by grasping at Home Rule, she forfeits also her financial rights under the Act of Union. Her representatives combined in 1898 and secured the Agricultural Grant of 728,000*l.* a year under the Irish Local Government Act. They combined on the Recess Committee and gained 264,000*l.* a year for the Department of Agriculture and Industries. They combined again in the Land Conference and secured the financing of the Wyndham Act. It is decidedly not now to the financial interest of Ireland to break up the Union.

The Home Rule problem of 1912 differs essentially in its financial aspects from the Home Rule problems of 1886 and 1893. The Ireland of to-day also differs widely from the Ireland of 1886. Prosperity has replaced poverty. The face of the country is changed. Ireland is comfortable, buoyant, and on its way to wealth. The

homesteads of well-to-do peasant proprietors and newly-built cottages, with their acre allotments, have replaced the cabins and the sheelings of the tenant and the labourer. The country towns are no longer a group of dirty and insanitary dwellings. They have their water-works, their drainage system, their recreation halls and public libraries. Squire and farmer, parson and priest combine and co-operate in agricultural organisations, in associations unpoisoned, until a short time ago, by the virus of intruded political antipathies. There is an industrial, artistic and literary revival. Bank and Post Office deposits have increased by millions, and still increase; and commerce shows by the annual returns a marvellous and continuous advance.

AMOUNT OF DEPOSITS AND CASH BALANCES IN IRELAND ON JUNE 30, 1893, AND JUNE 30, 1909, 1910, 1911. [1911, Cd 5934.]

	In Joint Stock Banks.	In Trustee Savings Banks.	In Post Office Savings Bank.
	£	£	£
1893 . . .	34,637,000	1,856,000	4,155,000
1909 . . .	51,877,000	2,466,000	11,187,000
1910 . . .	52,505,000	2,501,000	11,660,000
1911 . . .	56,011,000	2,557,000	12,253,000

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT SHOWS THE TOTAL ESTIMATED VALUES OF IRISH IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FOR THE SEVEN YEARS 1904-1910. [1911, Cd 5965.]

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
	£	£	£
1904	54,078,399	49,712,400	103,790,799
1905	55,631,692	51,341,351	106,973,043
1906	57,295,007	55,913,933	113,208,940
1907	61,457,558	59,115,197	120,572,755
1908	58,847,329	57,273,289	116,120,618
1909	63,779,709	60,946,186	124,725,895
1910	65,044,477	65,844,255	130,888,732
Increase, 1910 over 1904 .	10,966,078	16,131,855	27,097,923

At such a stage Great Britain is being advised to 'cut her loss,' because, though Irishmen are contributing more now than they ever did before to the Common Exchequer, Home Rule ministers, who probably never looked into the Act of Union, exclaim for party purposes, 'Irish old age pensions are dreadfully expensive. More goes back to Ireland from the Exchequer than she pays into it. Cut

your loss.' This is the new diplomacy. England did not win her Dominions, and will never keep them, by calculating balance sheets. The economics of Empire transcend the arithmetic of the counting-house.

The following table gives the revenue and expenditure of Ireland as they stood at the close of the decennial period 1880-90, in 1893-4, and in 1910-11 (on the average of the two years).

	1880-90.	1893-04.	1910, 1911 (two years' average).
Irish revenue as collected .	£ 9,005,000	£ 9,650,000	£ 11,687,000
„ „ as corrected .	7,734,678	7,568,000	9,930,000
Irish expenditure . .	5,057,708	5,602,000	11,344,500
Balance . . .	+ 2,676,970	+ 1,966,000	- 1,414,500

The contrast of these figures displays the increasing difficulty of the problems of Home Rule.

The scheme of the Home Rule Bill of 1886 violated the fundamental principle that there shall be no taxation without representation. An Imperial contribution was to be secured from Ireland, but the Irish members were not to be retained at Westminster. The revenue of Ireland 'as collected,' was then estimated at 8,350,000*l*. Ireland was to contribute, for thirty years, one-fifteenth of the expenditure on the National Debt, the Army and Navy, and the Civil List, as it stood in 1886, besides a contribution to the Sinking Fund, and a large part of the cost of the Constabulary. The contribution to the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, reckoned on this basis, would have been as follows:

National Debt	£ 1,466,000
Army and Navy	1,666,000
Civil List	110,000
Sinking Fund	360,000
	<hr/>
	3,602,000
Add fixed contribution for the Constabulary .	1,000,000
	<hr/>
	£4,602,000

The customs and excise collected in Ireland were to be carried to a separate account and applied in discharge of the annual Irish contribution for Imperial charges

and Sinking Fund. Any balance was to be paid to the Irish Government, and any deficiency was to be made good out of the revenues of the Irish Government. A Receiver-General was to be appointed, into whose hands the whole revenue of Ireland should be paid; and he was in the first instance to satisfy all the Imperial charges before paying anything to the Irish Exchequer. The total estimated revenue left to the Irish Government in 1886 to carry on the administration of the country would have been 2,170,000*l.* Irish Old Age pensions alone now cost 2,803,000*l.*; National Education costs 1,659,000*l.*; the estimate for the Department of Agriculture in the coming year is 416,000*l.* The last two items alone would absorb practically the whole revenue left for Irish purposes by the Home Rule Bill of 1886. Ireland would have been bankrupt in a month; and the effect on English credit would have been disastrous. Although Ireland was to contribute 4,600,000*l.* to the British Exchequer, Home Rule would have paid neither Great Britain nor Ireland in 1886.

Even if Ireland had been left solvent by the Bill, every element of friction was introduced into the proposed financial arrangements; and, as some similar machinery for enforcing the fiscal control of Great Britain must, unless Ireland is left absolutely independent in money matters, be provided in any future Home Rule measure, a short account of the proposed system may be useful. The Receiver-General was provided with an Imperial Court of Exchequer, which was to sit in Dublin and enforce the rights of Imperial taxation. The Exchequer Judges were to be appointed on the recommendation of the Lord Chancellor of England. There was a remarkable provision in the Act that, if the sheriff omitted to execute a decree of the Exchequer Court, the judges could appoint some other person to take steps to enforce the judgment. No appeal was to lie to any Irish Court from the Exchequer; appeals were to lie directly to the British House of Lords. Thus history was thrown back one hundred years; and there reappeared the very system of English judicial authority over Ireland in an English Court and English House of Lords which brought the English and Irish parliaments and the English and Irish Courts of Law into violent conflict in the eighteenth

century. It is evident from the mere statement of these provisions that an Irish parliament under such conditions would strive to get rid of all these restrictions. No English executive, representing a 'foreign dominion' and acting through an 'alien court,' could hope to control the resistance, active or passive, of the Irish people and their legislature and executive. The financial clauses contained every element for inducing either total separation or civil war. This is one of the practically insoluble difficulties of any half-measure such as Home Rule. The financial system of the Union under which Ireland has her equal place as a sister-nation is to be broken up under the pretence of gratifying a demand for 'nationhood,' and yet the system that replaces the Union must insult every principle of 'nationhood' and humiliate the people that it is proposed to placate.

The Home Rule Bill of 1893, unlike that of 1886, proposed to retain Irish representatives at Westminster; and, if any reliance can be placed upon political rumour, the Bill of 1912 will follow this precedent. The retention of the Irish members in 1893 was intended to meet the fundamental objection made to the Bill of 1886, that under it Imperial taxation was imposed on Ireland while Ireland was to be unrepresented in the Imperial Parliament. Mr Gladstone explained his change of attitude by contending that, 'as it was inexpedient to have separate systems of trade-laws and separate Customs, Ireland should have something to say to British Budgets, as they would have more or less of influence on Irish pecuniary balances.' Under this system, assuming that the difficulty which Mr Gladstone said 'passed the wit of man to solve' is surmounted, and that some method is discovered by which a Government can exist with an Irish delegation deliberating and voting at Westminster, either 'in and out,' on Imperial matters only or on all matters, while English and Scottish members have no voice in Irish affairs, yet it is clear that the Irish members must in any event be entitled to legislate in all cases where Ireland may be directly or indirectly concerned. If the House of Commons at Westminster is to retain any power to impose taxation upon Ireland, or if Irish revenue is affected by British commercial policy, or if any portion of the Irish revenue is to be hypothecated for

Imperial purposes, the Irish members must be entitled to intervene on all Budget and Money Bills. They will be free lances, bound to utilise their position in the Westminster Parliament to further the interests of the Dublin Parliament; and the Irish question will return to Westminster under Home Rule with renewed energy and redoubled power.

In the original financial scheme of 1893 Irish Customs, estimated at 2,500,000*l.*, were to constitute Ireland's contribution to Imperial expenditure. Such portion of the Excise as represented duties upon articles of Irish Excise consumed in Great Britain was also to be applied for Imperial purposes. All the rest of the Irish revenue was to be reserved for Ireland. After fifteen years these arrangements might be revised upon an address to the Crown by either the House of Commons or the Irish Legislative Assembly. There was to be a separate Irish Exchequer and separate Irish Consolidated Fund. The duties on customs and excise and postage rates were to be imposed by the Imperial Parliament. The Irish Parliament might levy any other taxes for the Irish service. The customs duties were to be regulated, collected and paid into the Exchequer of the United Kingdom, together with the excise duties derived from taxed articles manufactured in Ireland but consumed in Great Britain. Ireland was to contribute 1,000,000*l.* for the upkeep of the constabulary and Dublin police, so long as these forces continued to exist. Provision was made for their gradual extinction and the creation of a police force under local Irish control.

The balance-sheet under this scheme showed a surplus of half a million in favour of Ireland. But, while the Bill was going through the House, it was discovered that the 'true' excise revenue of Ireland had been over-estimated by 350,000*l.* Therefore the working balance practically disappeared, and the finance had to be recast. The remodelled scheme embodied in the Bill in Committee provided that (1) Ireland should contribute to Imperial expenditure a quota of her true revenue from taxes, and the proceeds of the crown lands; (2) the quota should be one-third of such revenue; (3) Ireland should be credited with the rest of her tax revenue and any surplus from postal services; (4) out of this Irish revenue two-thirds

of the cost of the constabulary and the Dublin police, all civil government charges, and any deficit in postal services should be discharged ; (5) the control of the rates of Inland Revenue duties, postal revenue and customs, as well as their collection, should remain with the Imperial Parliament ; (6) if any war tax was imposed, all of it collected in or contributed by Ireland should go to the Imperial Exchequer ; (7) these financial arrangements should last for six years, when (a) they should be revised as regarded the Irish contribution to Imperial services, (b) the collection of the Inland Revenue should be transferred to the Irish Government, and (c) the Irish Legislature should impose the Irish stamp duties, income tax and excise licence duties ; (8) a joint Committee of the Treasury and Irish Government should be appointed to ascertain the 'true revenue' of Ireland.

It was estimated that, under these modified provisions, the total Irish revenue would be 6,922,000*l.* ; the amount payable to the Irish Exchequer 4,660,000*l.* ; Irish expenditure 4,148,000*l.* ; and the surplus for Ireland 512,000*l.* All local loans outstanding were to be repaid to the Imperial Government by the Irish Government in forty-nine years by means of an annuity including replacement of capital at the rate of four per cent. on the principal of the loans. The charges for the Land Purchase Act of 1891 were made a first charge upon the Irish Consolidated Fund in favour of the Exchequer of the United Kingdom.* 'Imperial Liabilities,' as defined in the Bill, consisted of the National Debt and cost of its management, and all charges on the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom for the repayment of borrowed money or guarantees. 'Imperial Expenditure' embraced (1) naval and military expenditure ; (2) expenditure on Civil List and Royal Family ; the salaries of the Lord-Lieutenant and of the Exchequer Judges in Ireland ; buildings, salaries and expenses of Parliament ; National Debt Commissioners ; Foreign Office and diplomatic services ; Colonial Office ; Privy Council ; Board of Trade ; Mint ; Customs ; Inland Revenue ; Savings Banks ; Friendly Societies, etc.

Mr Gladstone told a deputation of Belfast merchants,

* See the memorandum prepared by Mr B. H. Holland, secretary to the Financial Relations Committee, in vol. iii, p. 198, of the Report.

who represented to him that these financial conditions would be disastrous to Ireland, that 'it was not chronic want of money but chronic plethora of money which, if Ireland were prudent, would beset her after she attained local autonomy.' Mr Redmond took a different view.

'The longer' (he said) 'these financial clauses have been studied, the more they have been distrusted. It is right we should be perfectly candid in a matter of this kind. I have met no member of any political party in Ireland who has been able to tell me that Ireland could be successfully worked and successfully governed under the financial clauses of the Bill as they now stand. . . . If these clauses are to stand it will become a horrible responsibility for any Irish representative to accept this Bill as a settlement.'*

The finance of the 1893 Bill was, like that of 1886, of such a character that the two countries would have been at once involved in a bitter controversy. England believed she was being mulcted, while Ireland regarded the financial provisions as an insult; and there is no reason to suppose that the burdens imposed upon her could have been discharged without national bankruptcy, while Imperial credit would have been seriously shaken. The long and intricate enquiry of the Financial Relations Commission shows that, in every clause of the accounts between the two countries, and in every definition of Imperial obligation, collisions would have occurred between their legislatures; and such collisions would have led to hostility between the peoples, and arrest of constitutional government and efficient administration. If the finance of 1886 and of 1893 was difficult, that of 1912 will be immeasurably more difficult. If there is to be any Imperial contribution by Ireland, it can only be enforced by tribunals and methods modelled upon the precedents of the Bills of 1886 and 1893; and the results already indicated must follow. Great Britain must now determine either to grant to Ireland complete independence in all matters of revenue and taxation, or to retain the financial system of the Union.

Assume, however, that some *deus ex machina* reveals some method of fiscal administration which will work under Home Rule; the question remains whether Ireland

* 'Irish Daily Independent,' April 14, 1893.

can finance herself, and how the interests of Great Britain and the Empire will be affected. The present revenue of Ireland, on an average of the last two years, is 'as collected' 11,682,000*l.*, and 'as corrected' 9,930,000*l.* The expenditure for 1910-11 is 11,344,500*l.*, leaving an Irish deficit, if the Exchequers were to be divided, of 1,414,500*l.* To this deficit must be added 461,000*l.* for increase in old age pensions, owing to the removal of the pauper disqualification; at least 800,000*l.* for the State contribution to National Insurance; and 40,200*l.* for payment of members of parliament. This would mean a deficit of about 2,715,700*l.* National education is clamouring for an additional 500,000*l.* The education grant to Scotland at present is 2,250,000*l.*; that to Ireland 1,632,000*l.* All parties in Ireland are combined in this demand; and the necessity of a great increase of subvention cannot be denied. A deficit of 3,000,000*l.* may therefore be anticipated in 1913. If Ireland were dissevered from Great Britain and relieved from all contributions to the National Debt, the Civil List, the Army and Navy and foreign affairs, she would start on her career of 'nationhood' as a bankrupt community. It would be absolutely impossible to raise 3,000,000*l.* of additional taxation in Ireland, even if she were still united to Great Britain. Mr Lloyd George's Budget has taxed her to the utmost limit. The over-taxation of distilling, her great source of revenue, has begun to prove unremunerative. An excise duty on spirits at 11*s.* in the gallon in 1908-9 produced 3,908,000*l.* On the average collection of the two years 1909-10 and 1910-11 the spirits revenue has fallen, with the duty at 14*s.* 9*d.*, to 3,455,000*l.* Over 10,000 acres of barley have been thrown out of cultivation in Leinster, Ulster and Munster.

Home Rulers state that they can make enormous reductions in the Irish Civil Service. They base their favourite and reiterated argument upon a patent misapprehension of the tables of Income Tax assessments under Schedule E on government officials.* These tables, they assert, show that there are 4397 officials in Ireland as against only 994 in Scotland, and that a 'rich foliage is therefore ready for the pruning-knife' of the Home Rule

* 'Inland Revenue Report,' 1910, tables 151, 152.

gardener. But the calculation is unfounded. The tables only show the number of assessments under Schedule E made in London, Scotland and Ireland. A very large number of Scottish civil servants are assessed in London, where several of the Scottish departments are centralised—the Education Department, for instance—and, as Income Tax is deducted at the source of payment, these officials would be classified for Income Tax assessment under the heading 'Metropolis,' and not under 'Scotland.' As a matter of fact, the number of civil servants borne on the Irish Estimates (including also the judges and other persons paid out of the Consolidated Fund) is 1522 and not 4397. Of these 4397 persons, 1622 are Church of Ireland clergy, 341 are bank officials, 49 are Port and Docks and Light Board employees, 202 are pensioners, and 2190 would never come for purposes of pay or pension under the control of a Home Rule parliament.* Moreover, though the number of officials in Ireland is large, the recent Budget and the Insurance Act show how much more likely officialism is to increase than to be reduced in numbers; and an Irish parliament will itself require a host of officials for its own purposes.

Again, civil servants are required in Ireland to manage departments which do not exist in Scotland, and which cannot be abolished under Home Rule. Such are the Land Commission and the Estates Commissioners' office, carrying out the gigantic operation of land purchase; the Congested Districts Board, now controlling land purchase in addition to all its other duties in the counties of the western seaboard from Donegal to Cork; and the Department of Agriculture and Industries. It will be impossible to effect appreciable reductions in these directions. The Ulster question will require more than 10,000 police to remain enrolled, even if the savagery which the Roman Catholic Bishop of Killaloe has recently denounced in such solemn and striking terms† were to cease to exist in Clare and the many districts like to it, in the halcyon days of the Home Rule parliament. A further reduction of the judicial establishment is not practically possible. The Nationalists, who so frequently

* See the answers and detailed returns given, Feb. 22 and Nov. 9, 1911. Parl. Debates, xxi, 2044; xxx, 1954.

† See daily papers, December 19, 1911.

attack the Irish judges, have refused to allow the Criminal Appeal Act to be applied to Ireland, showing how real is their confidence, notwithstanding all their platform protestations, in the rectitude and fairness of the Irish Bench. But the right of appeal cannot and ought not to be long denied to Irish prisoners; and the number of judges cannot be diminished.

The reckless nature of the assertions made about Irish establishments and possible economies is shown by the often reiterated statement that the Irish judiciary costs vastly more than the Scottish. As a fact, the Scottish Bench costs more than the Irish. All judicial salaries, both those of the High Court and the County Courts, are charged on the Consolidated Fund. The Scottish judicial salaries amounted last year to 104,500*l.*; the Irish to 102,000*l.** Assume, however, that all the judges are abolished, and that there is to be no more law or justice under Home Rule; the 100,000*l.* thus set free would be a mere bagatelle in modern State expenditure. The additional sum of 461,000*l.* for old age pensions (already referred to) costs four times as much as the whole judicial staff of Ireland. The sum of 800,000*l.* to be paid for National Insurance reduces their combined salaries to insignificance. If Mr. Redmond's party intended really to finance Home Rule on an economic basis, they should have prevented the Insurance Bill from being extended to Ireland, and prevented also the removal of the bar of pauperism from the old age pensioner.

The Corporation of Dublin, which is elected on the existing parliamentary franchise, may be taken as anticipating the future Home Rule Assembly both in *personnel* and in methods of administration. The prospect of economies being effected by pruning down the Irish Civil Service may be judged by the following facts. A recent report of one of the Corporation Committees states that the Corporation wages bill has increased from 89,491*l.* in the year 1900 to 114,245*l.* in the year 1910, and the salaries from 38,979*l.* in 1900 to 56,000*l.* in 1910, making an increase in wages and salaries of more than 42,000*l.* per annum, equal to an increased rate of over 10*d.* in the pound in ten years. And it is the same

* 1911 H.C. 220. See Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom, 1911.

elsewhere. The expense of local administration by Irish municipalities and county councils has risen annually by over 100,000*l*. In 1905 local taxation amounted to 4,013,000*l*. ; in 1909 it amounted to 4,419,000*l*.

The larger items of Irish State expenditure to-day are nearly all of modern growth. Such are Old Age Pensions (2,800,000*l*.), Education (1,659,000*l*.), contribution to Local Taxation account (1,442,000*l*.), Land Commission (455,000*l*.), Agricultural and Industrial Department (416,000*l*.), and Universities and Colleges (168,000*l*.). If we add 800,000*l*. for National Insurance, the total exceeds 7,700,000*l*. None of these services will permit of reduction. On the contrary, they will require additional outlay. Mr Redmond told the members of the City Liberal Club recently that 'Ireland's was the most costly government in the world, because it was carried on against the will of the people of Ireland ;' but every one of these estimates (with the exception of that for Insurance) has been in recent years added to the government outlay in Ireland, not against the will of the Irish people, but to meet their urgent demand and requirements. It is true that the County Councils, the Chambers of Commerce and the Roman Catholic bishops protested against the Insurance Bill ; but the Irish members, led by Mr Devlin, supported it. The position is thus an impossible one. Even if a quarter of a million per annum could be saved by reductions, Ireland would be practically no nearer financial salvation. Great Britain, unless she is prepared to permit the disgrace and danger of a bankrupt dependency being created beside her, must find from 4,000,000*l*. to 5,000,000*l*. per annum for Ireland, and must hand over its control to an Irish parliament. This is a height of altruism hitherto unattained in politics or business.

Even if Ireland gets this enormous grant from England and Scotland through the vicarious generosity of the Welsh Chancellor of the Exchequer, her position will still be that of a mendicant. Taxed to the utmost to sustain her services, she will have no assets to pledge for public loans ; she must still hang on British credit and sponge upon the Saxon to back her bills. The 100,000,000*l*. required to finance the uncompleted land sales cannot be raised on Irish credit. British Consols are at 77 ; where will Irish Consols stand ? How without

the command of British credit will Irish prospects of social betterment prosper under Home Rule? Sanitation, the housing of the working classes, the clearance of the city slums, the vast operations of social amelioration, which are now conducted by Irish municipalities and county and rural authorities—how are they to be financed? All of them are now made possible through loans on generous terms made from the Imperial Exchequer. At what rate of interest could Ireland float her Land Stock or her Local Loan Stock? Over 9,000,000*l.* have within a short period been already advanced under the Public Health Acts alone to Irish authorities; over 7,800,000*l.* freely granted or advanced to house the agricultural labourers of Ireland; and over 1,250,000*l.* lent for schemes for housing of the poor in cities and in towns. Sewage schemes, waterworks, drainage schemes, glebe and school erection depend upon loans backed by the Imperial credit. How will Irish farmers stand when they seek under Home Rule for land improvement loans? Nearly 6,000,000*l.* of Imperial money have been advanced to them for the improvement of their holdings on most advantageous terms.* Millions of these loans are outstanding still; the British Treasury is the creditor; the Imperial executive controls and commands repayment.

Is Ireland to lose this credit, and Britain to abandon this control, because the Home Rule eighty hold for the moment the balance of power in the party game in the House of Commons? What will the security for these British millions be when an Irish executive is controlled by an Irish parliament elected by Irish tenant farmers and Irish urban ratepayers—the debtors to the British Treasury? Nothing but an Irish I.O.U. A British loan to an Asiatic or South American State is safer far, for in such a case there is no compunction in enforcing payment, if need be, by war and occupation; but to go to war with Ireland in order to enforce repayment from a peasantry trained by the methods of the Land League agitators, who are to be turned by Home Rule into ministers and statesmen, will be a task no less unprofitable in result than impossible in accomplishment.

* Reports of the Local Government Board for Ireland, 1911. Report of the Commissioner for Public Works, 1910.

You cannot take out a summons against a people or call out the *posse comitatus* of a community which is itself the defendant in the execution.

It may be replied that England can stop her subvention to Ireland, and that this will be her security; but a national strike in Ireland against repayment of land purchase and local loan advances already made would be more than a set-off, and the Imperial credit of England would be shaken to its foundation. The credit of England, Ireland and Scotland has been hitherto interdependent. They have had a common purse since the Union, and more than a century of mutual commitments. No colony and no dependency ever stood in such a relation to the United Kingdom as that in which each member of the United Kingdom stands to the other. The failure of Ireland to meet her obligations voluntarily or involuntarily will involve loss to every individual Englishman or Scotsman who holds an investment in any of the three kingdoms. If England goes to war when Ireland has Home Rule, the Irish executive may, without arming a man, bring England to humiliation by stopping the payment of the land annuities, and shaking down the credit of Guaranteed Land Stock, and with it that of all other Government securities. War is carried on by credit. Home Rule Ireland has only to threaten to stop payment, and British credit falls and a blow is dealt vaster in its effects than a great disaster on the field of battle. Once the Imperial Parliament gives up the executive control of Ireland and of Irish finance, it betrays not only Irish Unionists but the whole people of Great Britain.

Under the Union, Ireland, Scotland and England form one domain. While the Union lasts no single kingdom and no portion of any of the three kingdoms is, or can be said to be, 'run at a loss.' Such an expression is only true if separation is pre-supposed. The individuals in each of the three kingdoms contribute to the common Exchequer in equal measure by common taxes. Each kingdom is entitled to have its wants supplied, not because it is England or Scotland or Ireland, but because they are one united land, and their needs, whether peculiar or common, must be met from the common Exchequer. The peculiar needs of Ireland, too long neglected, have in more recent years received attention and been supplied

in no stinted measure ; and the return for this expenditure has been multifold. In six years Irish imports and exports have increased by 27,000,000% in value. This trade is, in overwhelming proportions, a trade with British markets. It enriches England and Scotland as well as Ireland. This increasing prosperity of Ireland will, in the judgment of the vast majority of the merchants and bankers and commercial leaders in every part of Ireland, be arrested and possibly annihilated by Home Rule.

Prudence, profit, patriotism, imperialism, urge men to strengthen the Union. Sentimentalism, indifference and petty appeals to the ignorance of the electorate to 'cut the loss' may induce the nation, if it has forgotten the art of government, to pension off Ireland ; but Great Britain will not then be rid of Ireland. She will have lost the true allegiance of those Irishmen whose forefathers gave their blood and services freely to create and keep the British Empire, and who proved themselves not unfit to lead the armies and command the fleets and shape the diplomacy and inspire the statesmanship that have made these twin islands a centre of the world's activities. Great Britain may forget ; she may forget her own honour, and betray not only them, but her own inheritance of Imperial greatness. Deprived for the moment of the protection of her ancient constitution, outmanœuvred in division lobbies, and obsessed by demagogues, she may become absorbed in the policy of petty cash, and conceive it statesmanship to pension off her sister kingdom as a poor relation. But, as Lamb says,

'a poor relation is the most irrelevant thing in nature, a piece of impertinent correspondence, an odious approximation, a haunting conscience, a preposterous shadow lengthening in the noon-tide of your prosperity, an unwelcome remembrancer, a perpetually recurring mortification, a drain on your purse, a more intolerable dun upon your pride, a drawback upon success, a rebuke to your rising, a stain in your blood, a blot on your scutcheon, a rent in your garment, a death's head at your banquet, Agathocles' pot, a Mordecai in your gate, a Lazarus at your door, a lion in your path, a frog in your chamber, a fly in your ointment, a mote in your eye, a triumph to your enemy, an apology to your friends—the one thing not needful.'

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